

Lebanese conference extended

Post Mideast Affairs Reporter and agencies

Lebanese leaders, facing serious problems in agreeing on political reforms at their national reconciliation conference in Lausanne, Switzerland, decided after private meetings last night to take their peace negotiations into a second week.

President Amin Gemayel and eight leaders of rival Christian and Moslem factions will meet again today after making some progress in formal and private talks last night, said Gemayel's political aide Michel Samaha.

Samaha later told a reporter that he expected the conference to wind up today with the approval of a final text announcing the formation of a "government of national unity" and hissing certain "guiding principles" in consolidating the cease-fire and restructuring the country's political system.

He said the composition of the government would be made known in Beirut.

Samaha tried to put a brave face on things, telling reporters he believed "something will come out of the conference that will be much more positive than all of us here are thinking tonight."

He went on to add that

IDF soldier wounded in explosion near Sidon

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — An IDF soldier was slightly wounded yesterday morning when an explosive charge went off at the eastern approaches to Sidon. The IDF vehicles were passing by at the time of the explosion.

After the incident, IDF soldiers sealed off the area and conducted searches. There have been several attacks on IDF patrols in that part of town during the past two weeks.

South Lebanon militiamen are helping the IDF to search for gunmen and saboteurs and to maintain security. A militia outpost has been established in the Sidon area to help police the area.

Iraqis recapture Majnoon Islands

MAJNOON ISLANDS (AFP). — Iraqi forces have recaptured from Iran at least part of the oil-rich Majnoon islands in the marshlands east of Basra, according to foreign correspondents who visited the area yesterday.

The islands have been the scene of heavy fighting, which was continuing yesterday, ever since the Iraqis occupied the area in an assault more than two weeks ago. The Iraqis claim to have killed several thousand enemy troops in the course of their counter-offensive.

Foreign correspondents yesterday were permitted to visit two sectors of the Majnoon front for the first time. Escorting Iraqi officers did not describe where the fighting was still going on, but apparently the action had moved south of the islands.

(Earlier report — Page 4)

Calculators in class

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Education Ministry has decided to allow the use of calculators in all elementary school classes and to encourage their use in mathematics lessons.

The decision was made as part of the new mathematics and geometry studies programme for grades one to six by the mathematics curriculum and supervision division in the ministry.

Mondale regains momentum after Michigan, Arkansas poll

NEW YORK (AP). — Walter Mondale swept past Senator Gary Hart for caucus victories in Michigan and Arkansas and held a decisive lead over him in Mississippi on the delegate-rich Saturday of the drive for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The only weak spots for Mondale in the five caucus states came when uncommitted slates carried the day in South Carolina and in Kentucky, where just a handful of counties voted on Saturday. Latin American Democrats meeting in Panama City, Panama, also backed uncommitted delegates.

"It's been a good day, and I could use one," the former vice-president said in Illinois.

Mondale's momentum from his victories was due for another boost yesterday with an expected win in Puerto Rico's primary, where Hart made no effort for its 48 pledged delegates.

Mondale and Hart are battling along with the Rev. Jesse Jackson for the Democratic nomination to oppose incumbent Republican President Reagan in the November general elections.

Hart, who seemed far behind only three weeks ago, played down the significance of the results, particularly from Michigan, saying he was happy to get as much as he did "in a process that was stacked against us from the beginning."

Mondale's performance on Saturday was

another step on the road back from a string of early defeats by Hart. After fighting Hart to a 3-2 split in last week's Tuesday primaries, Mondale was looking for a better showing on Saturday. He got it.

Mondale was the victor in Arkansas, winning 20 national convention delegates to only nine for Hart.

He won Michigan, where strong support from the powerful United Auto Workers and other unions were the key to his winning the biggest share of the state's 136 delegates.

Unofficial returns in Michigan gave Mondale 49 per cent, Hart 34 per cent and Jackson, 14 per cent. The rest went to slates uncommitted to any specific candidate.

In Mississippi, the former vice-president was winning just over 30 per cent of the vote, slightly ahead of the uncommitted slates in returns from 1,325 of 2,070 precinct caucuses.

Twenty-eight per cent backed Jackson, and 12 per cent Hart.

Party officials in Mississippi stopped counting late Saturday night, saying they would resume today.

Uncommitted slates led in South Carolina, Kentucky and among Latin American Democrats.

In Panama, the Latin American Democrats decided to send all five of their delegates as un-

committed, party chairman Richard Koster said.

In South Carolina, where Jackson was born, party leaders had urged a vote for uncommitted delegates after one of the state's senators, Ernest Hollings, withdrew from the race.

With 76 per cent of the state's 1,738 precincts reporting, uncommitted had 53 per cent. Jackson was the choice of 25 per cent, Hart 13 per cent, and Mondale 9 per cent.

Three counties in Kentucky that held caucuses Saturday also went strongly for uncommitted delegates, giving them 55 per cent of the vote with almost all ballots counted. Mondale was first among the candidates with 19 per cent, Jackson had 16 per cent, and Hart 10 per cent.

Caucus returns in all 75 Arkansas counties gave Mondale 44 per cent of the delegates to subsequent county conventions, while Hart had 30 per cent and Jackson 20 per cent. The remainder were uncommitted.

The Arkansas, South Carolina and Michigan results lifted Mondale's delegate total from all primaries and caucuses to 443 delegates. Hart's total went to 261 and Jackson's to 60. Uncommitted delegates total 112 and other candidates have 85.

A total of 1,967 delegate votes are needed to win the nomination.



Purim bunting flaps soggy over the heads of merry-makers yesterday as they throng Tel Aviv's Rehov Sheinkin for a carnival organized by residents and shopkeepers. Purim story, page 3. (Gil Hadani, IPPA)

Official here to discuss UN role

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Assistant UN Secretary-General Brian Urquhart is to meet today with Prime Minister Shamir and other senior policymakers for talks on the Lebanon situation.

Urquhart has visited UNIFIL troops in South Lebanon and toured capitals in the region this past week to ascertain if there is support for an enhanced UN role in Lebanese peacekeeping.

Recently a French proposal to replace the departed multinational force in Beirut with UN units was foiled by Soviet opposition (and American lack of enthusiasm) at the UN Security Council. But there are other ideas for stepping up the UN's role, both in Beirut and farther south.

Shamir has said publicly that Israel does not oppose a UN role in Lebanon. But he has also made it clear that he does not regard a UN contingent as a fighting force, designed or equipped to put up armed resistance to PLO attacks. Rather, Shamir favours a UN presence as a buffer north of the IDF's present Awali line. Israel would also probably support a UN role in the Palestinian refugee camps in the south and centre of

Lebanon (there was provision for this in the now-defunct May 17 Israel-Lebanon agreement).

Meanwhile Israeli policymakers are deliberately dampening expectations of an early redeployment decision in the cabinet — this despite repeated public statements by Deputy Prime Minister David Levy recently that such a decision is imminent.

The line now being taken by government officials is that further deliberations are required before any decision is made, and meanwhile the army is taking "measures" to keep its casualties down.

Cabinet sources told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that defence experts, including IDF generals, are divided over whether to redeploy or not at this time.

The cabinet's position, therefore, these sources said, is that the IDF should stay put for the present.

The sources could not say how long "the present" would last. They spoke vaguely of the situation in Lebanon "stabilizing." They mentioned Syrian President Hafez Assad's health problems. They indicated that Israel might have to get used to the prospect of staying in South Lebanon for years. Some weeks ago the cabinet held

a lengthy debate on the Lebanon situation, and ended it without taking any new decisions, which was tantamount to deciding to stay put. No subsequent discussions have taken place in the cabinet itself, though there are discussions among smaller groups of ministers.

Shamir is plainly not hurrying to put the issue back on the cabinet's agenda. (This week's meeting has been postponed to tomorrow because of Purim.)

After the previous discussion, and the abrogation of the May 17 agreement, the widely-held assumption in Jerusalem — articulated by David Levy but shared by many others — was that an Israeli redeployment decision was imminent. There seem, however, to have been second thoughts now, and Levy's prediction, accurate when he voiced it, is no longer valid.

Some of Levy's political foes within the government are hinting that the deputy prime minister was misinformed or premature in his statements. But observers are inclined to believe that he did reflect the prevailing mood of the ministers when he made his statements, and that that mood has now shifted under the influence of Shamir's and Defence Minister Arens' "no hurry" approach to redeployment.

Hussein says settlement freeze 'not enough'

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Jordan's King Hussein made it clear yesterday that an Israeli settlement freeze would not by itself induce him to enter peace negotiations with Israel.

Appearing on CBS's *Face the Nation*, the king said Israel would also have to permit West Bank and Gaza Palestinians to participate in the current dialogue aimed at achieving a Jordanian-PLO consensus. He was referring to Israel's refusal to permit West Bankers and Gazans from participating in the coming Palestine National Council meeting scheduled to be held in Amman.

Hussein conceded that "Israel is there — we accept that," but said Israel should agree to "total withdrawal" in exchange for "total peace." Acceptance of that principle is necessary to promote the peace process," he said.

He attacked Israel's opposition to U.S. arms sales to Jordan as well as the pending effort of the U.S. Congress to move the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Hussein was much more soft-spoken on television than he had been in his remarks to *The New York Times* last Thursday. But he said he had no regrets about his interview in *The Times*, in which he accused the

U.S. of bowing to Israeli dictates in its Middle East policy.

Hussein said he knew his remarks to the paper would hurt the chances for congressional approval of the administration's proposed Stinger anti-aircraft missiles sale. But he said his assessment before the interview had been that the prospects of the sale going through were in any case remote.

On the same programme, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger proposed that the U.S. take a "pause" in its active Middle East diplomacy and reassess its strategy. He warned against any new U.S. initiative which would not be assured of success.

U.S., Egypt exchange messages on Sudan

CAIRO (Reuters). — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak ex-

changed messages with U.S. President Ronald Reagan amid press reports from the U.S. that Washington and Cairo were considering an emergency airlift of military equipment to Sudan. U.S. Ambassador Nicholas Veliotis confirmed the exchange of messages but would not say what they contained.

Military sources said Egypt's army went on the alert and security was tightened at strategic points after Cairo received full details of the air strike by a lone Soviet-built Tupolev-22 bomber on Omdurman, which reportedly killed five people.

Sudan and Egypt say the raid, carried out at Moslem prayer time in Khartoum's twin city on the Nile, was inspired by Libya, which has

denied involvement.

Sudan has requested an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss the Libyan air raid.

An Egyptian military delegation was in Khartoum yesterday to help plan a response to any further attack on Sudan.

Egypt and Sudan have further decided to invoke a joint defence

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Labour criticizes Burg, seeks inquiry Top police brass rally to Ivtzan, blast Hefetz

The power struggle at the top of the police force continued to be fought out in public yesterday.

Barely an hour after a High Court decision instructed police Inspector General Rav-Nitzan Arye Ivtzan to explain within 15 days why suspended Nitzav Mishne Assaf Hefetz should not be reinstated (see item below), Ivtzan received a massive show of support from the four district commanders, headed by Nitzav Yehoshua Caspi of the southern district, who called for the resignation of Nitzav Zvi Bar, Ivtzan's main internal opponent. Bar remained silent.

Caspi spoke out in unprecedented terms on Israel Radio, describing Bar, the head of operations in the forces as needing "disciplining." His remark was immediately interpreted as meaning Bar should leave the force.

Within an hour of Caspi's remarks, Bar was taken to task by Ivtzan for appearing on television without permission and commenting publicly on a matter still under inquiry.

Bar's television appearance last Friday night is what led the country's four top police field officers to lash out at him. He appeared, warmly embracing Hefetz, and making comments that indicated his dis-



Yehoshua Caspi



Zvi Bar

pleasure with Ivtzan's decision to tap Hefetz's phone and subsequently suspend him from the Central Unit, the Tel Aviv police force's elite detective squad.

Caspi said that his and his colleagues' support for Ivtzan was on the initiative of the district commanders, and had not been requested by Ivtzan.

Compiled from reports by Robert Rosenberg, Sarah Honig and Michal Yudelman.

"In 30 years on the force," said Caspi, "I never saw anything like it. A senior officer coming out publicly against the inspector general and the minister?" Caspi termed Bar's actions "a serious offence," and the four commanders asked Ivtzan "to take action" against him.

Meanwhile, Interior Minister Yosef Burg, still in Europe, has summoned a meeting of the senior police staff in his office for Friday. Burg is due to appear in the Knesset Interior Committee on Wednesday, together with Ivtzan, to explain what has been going on in the police force.

And in an Israel Television interview last night, Tel Aviv police chief Nitzav Avraham Turgeon said that he had long been very critical

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Hefetz wins court order on suspension

Police chief has 15 days to explain or retract

The suspended commander of the Police Central Unit, Nitzav-Mishne Assaf Hefetz, yesterday won an order *in* from the High Court of Justice which ordered police Inspector General Arye Ivtzan to show cause within 15 days why he should not immediately reinstate Hefetz.

At the same time, the court turned down Hefetz's request for an interim injunction which would have had Ivtzan restore Hefetz to his post immediately pending a final decision by the High Court. Ivtzan this weekend recommended to

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir that Hefetz be charged with passing classified information to unauthorized persons.

Hefetz was petitioning the High Court against a suspension order issued by Ivtzan on March 13, four days after the afternoon paper *Mar'ariv* published an item citing "orders from above" which had last year halted investigation of a sect in Mei Neftoah (Lifta). Members of the sect are now suspected of having planned the aborted attack on Temple Mount earlier this year. Hefetz has denied having leaked the

story to *Mar'ariv* or to any other newspaper. He also denies having spoken to the journalist concerned during 1984.

In the course of his application to the court, Hefetz claimed that the suspension order ran counter to all the rules of natural justice since it had been issued before he had been given the elementary right of putting his own case forward.

Ivtzan, Hefetz said, had gone beyond the limit of what could be regarded as a reasonable use of his powers as police chief. The inspec-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

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BRUSSELS	0 33	8 47	Cloudy
BUFFALO AIRS	16 59	28 77	Clear
CHICAGO	3 27	28 78	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	3 27	14 54	Clear
FRANKFURT	2 36	10 50	Clear
GENEVA	3 28	12 53	Clear
HONG KONG	17 62	21 68	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	10 51	27 81	Clear
LONDON	5 41	14 57	Cloudy
MADRID	3 27	8 43	Cloudy
MONTREAL	3 27	10 50	Clear
NEW YORK	3 27	8 43	Cloudy
PARIS	1 34	8 43	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	20 68	34 93	Cloudy
SARAJEVO	18 61	30 86	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	5 23	3 27	Cloudy
TOKYO	2 36	12 53	Clear
TORONTO	14 7	3 27	Cloudy
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Rain in the north and centre of the country, which will stop towards evening.

Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	75	13
Golan	92	7-10
Nahariya	94	8-10
Safed	94	8-10
Haifa Port	93	17
Tiberias	93	17
Nazareth	94	14
Afula	88	16
Shomron	87	15
Tel Aviv	69	18
B-G Airport	76	17
Jericho	48	23
Gaza	76	19
Beerseba	35	19
Eilat	25	25

New York strike not affecting El Al flights

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — El Al's management said last night its staffs' strike in New York had not affected its flights.

Saturday night's flight to Israel left on time and there was no interference with the arrival of planes from Tel Aviv.

There has been no interference with loading in New York, spokesman Nahman Kileman said.

Some 200 unionized El Al staffs in New York called the strike shortly after midnight on Friday over management's decision to fire some employees, cut wages and reduce annual leave. These moves are designed to save the airline some \$2m., company managing director Rafi Harlev said.

El Al is planning to continue its service with the help of 100 non-union members and employees flown in from Israel.

Boy, 12, killed, six badly hurt in Gaza accidents

A 12-year-old boy was killed in Gaza yesterday morning, when a truck knocked him off his bicycle. This was the most serious of six road accidents in Gaza during the past 24 hours, which resulted in six serious injuries and a number of lightly injured.

At Moshav Berekia, a 60-year-old man was hit by a car and taken to Ashkelon hospital.

At the Kiryat Gat Magistrate's Court, Shimon Dahan, 25, of Kiryat Malachi was sent to jail for four months, fined \$75,000 and given a four-month suspended sentence for driving while his licence was confiscated. He was also barred from holding a licence for 10 years. (Him)

TWINNING. — Haifa is trying to establish a twinning pact with the Rumanian Black Sea port of Constantza — the embarkation point for tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants during the 1940s and early 1950s, the municipal spokesman said yesterday.

HOME NEWS

Coalition feels secure about early vote bill

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

The coalition is confident it can win the day when the Alignment submits its early elections bill on Thursday. Even if Tami abstains, which is the worst it could do from the government's point of view, the Alignment move would still fail, the coalition believes.

Labour's announced intention to submit the bill for a vote has caused tension among the parties and has again driven the major Knesset blocs to mobilize their forces for the parliamentary battle looming just prior to the spring recess.

Former prime minister Menachem Begin, for example, has let the Likud know that he will show up for the vote if the coalition's fate depends on his participation. This was Begin's stand when the opposition last threatened the coalition with a no-confidence vote, but at the time he was not required to end his seclusion, as the coalition managed without him.

The drama this time centres on the delegation of four MKs visiting Argentina and NRP MK Avraham Melamed who is in South Africa.

All five are reluctant to return. Labour has flatly rejected a move by Likud whip Pinhas Goldstein for a pairing agreement between the parties regarding the visitors to Argentina. Since the delegation is composed of two coalition and two opposition members, it was suggested that they be allowed to continue their South American journey, and spare the country the expense of flying them back especially for the vote.

But the Alignment pointed out, that while Labour's Menachem Hachoen and Uzi Baram are sure to vote with the opposition, and while the Tehiya's Gula Cohen is sure to vote with the coalition, Liberal Dror Zeigerman is seen as likely to side with the opposition.

Labour Knesset faction chief Moshe Shahal thus promptly summoned Baram and Hachoen back. The two replied with acute displeasure and Baram was quoted as having accused his party of wasting money needlessly and wasting an opportunity for dialogue with the new civilian regime in Argentina.

Labour sources report that Baram's retort resulted in a more

insistent summons from party chairman Shimon Peres, who also reportedly relayed "secret information" to the Labour MKs in Argentina, indicating that the party's chances of success are brighter than assumed and that it has an important surprise up its political sleeve. The nature of this surprise was not disclosed, but Labour politicians are exuding a great deal of confidence.

This hectic activity on the opposition side has spurred the coalition to similar action. Gula Cohen is as displeased as Baram about the recall order but is expected to obey. Zeigerman is a greater problem, but his own Likud bloc would appreciate his continued absence. Zeigerman is reported to have declared that Peres' "political difficulties and his caprice, will not cause me to cut short an important mission."

Another coalition enigma, terrible reluctant to come home is Melamed, though it is believed in the NRP that a stiff command from Interior Minister Yosef Burg will end his habitual maneuvers before crucial votes and bring him back.

Another potential problem for the coalition is Aguda plans to bring the controversial archeology bill to a vote this week. Although Aguda has made no clear tie between the elections bill and its own legislative initiative, there is some concern in the coalition that it may seek to make such a connection.

Among the "wavering MKs," Mordechai Ben-Porat has reportedly sought to confer with his one-time Tel Aviv colleague Yigael Hurvitz on how they should vote. They have expressed some support in the past for early elections, but it is far from clear whether the two will side with Labour this week.

Meanwhile, highly-placed Likud sources confirmed to *The Jerusalem Post* last night that their party is now interested in early elections too, but in November, 1984. This is not a desirable date for Labour, as autumn elections would force Peres to face challenges for his leadership at a party convention, and the result might be that both he and former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin might find themselves replaced by former president Yitzhak Navon.

Overdrafts to cost more as central bank hikes interest

Overdrafts will cost the public more next month as the Bank of Israel raises by four percentage points the interest it charges the commercial banks on loans it gives them. The charge to the public has not yet been determined.

Monthly interest rates that the central bank charges commercial banks for monetary loans will go up on March 29 from the 12-16 per cent range to between 16 and 21 per cent.

The central bank will also increase from 11 to 15 per cent the interest it pays commercial banks for funds the latter deposited with it.

Bank of Israel officials said yesterday that the step was taken in view of the high inflation rate expected for April. The bank cannot permit interest rates to be lower than inflation, since this would encourage the demands for credit and credit expansion, bank officials said.

Rains still insufficient to replenish water reserves

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The country's farmers are praying that the rains will continue so that they will not have to irrigate their fields for some time.

According to Zvi Grinwald, head of the water allocations at the Water Commission, the rains of the last few days have saved the farmers money for extra irrigation and partly replenished the country's underground reserves.

Grinwald said that more rain was needed so that the over 200 man-made water reservoirs in the country would fill up. Because of

the dry winter nearly all of them have been dry until now.

The duty weatherman at the meteorological station Nathan Sassoon told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that scattered showers will continue today. Tomorrow it will be partly cloudy to fair. The temperatures will start rising today by about one to two degrees. Tomorrow there is a possibility of a further increase of up to two degrees.

During the weekend most of the rains were in the hilly region where about 20mm. of rain fell, compared to about two to five mm. in the other parts of the country.

POLICE BRASS

(Continued from Page One)
of Hefetz's professional abilities. Hefetz had been due to take unpaid leave even before the present incident, he revealed.

Yesterday, both Alignment partners attacked Burg, demanding inquiries into what is happening in the police.

The Labour Party response team charged that "it has become clear once more that Burg is not to be trusted and his performance in office can no longer be counted upon."

"The party demands that an objective examiner be appointed to look into the entire affair now shaking the police. That examiner must come from outside the Interior Ministry and the ranks of the police force," the statement said.

Victor Shemtov, secretary-general of Mapam, went a step further and demanded both Burg's resignation and the establishment of an official parliamentary commission of inquiry to look into the affair.

Inside the force, even as senior officers like Caspi, Nitzav Gabi Amir of the Central Division, and others denied that there was a high-level conspiracy to push Itzhan out of office, there were complaints about Burg remaining abroad during the controversy. But at the Interior Ministry and at national police headquarters, officials said they were in constant touch with the minister.

Burg will hear from the senior command on Friday the results of an internal inquiry appointed by ministry Director General Haim Kubersky and headed by Shmuel Eitan, the police controller. The inquiry was established last week to determine whether Hefetz's suspension was justified and what happened to the intelligence information that Tel Aviv supposedly sent to Jerusalem a year ago, warning of a plot to sabotage non-Jewish institutions in the capital.

Senior police sources in Jerusalem yesterday reiterated that the intelligence report concerning the activities of Shimon Barda still being sought by the police for his apparent leading role in January's abortive Temple Mount sabotage attempt — was dealt with properly.

The Jerusalem Post has been told by authoritative sources that it was Jerusalem officers who, in early March, right after the arrest of two suspects in the case, reminded Tel Aviv of the existence of the intelligence report. This was three days before it was leaked to the press and caused the storm of accusations and counter-accusations that have surrounded Hefetz's suspension.

According to these sources, a senior intelligence officer in Jerusalem, seeking Tel Aviv's help in finding Barda, reminded his Tel Aviv colleagues of the file and asked them for other information on the man.

It was only then that the Tel Aviv police command, including Turgeman, learned of the details contained in the Barda file. The next day, the story was in *Ma'ariv*. Yesterday, *Ma'ariv* published further details. The report was first compiled on 28 December 1982, was sent from Tel Aviv to national police headquarters and to the intelligence section of the southern police region. The report said Barda and his associates were in possession of weapons, including pistols and Uzi sub-machineguns. Barda,

the report said, had paid up to \$400 for an explosive charge in one instance. He had been known to extort the money from persons in Jerusalem and other places, and from religious elements, among others.

Later, on 14 January 1983, the paper writes, a further report was compiled in the southern district. This included much of the earlier material, but added that in November 1982 Barda had contacted a woman, made him, Jerusalem police, to capture him. He had then disappeared, the report said. This report was given to the team investigating the October 1982 arson of the Baptist Church in Jerusalem.

But on 19 January 1983, Nitzav Mishne Zaharia Bazel, assistant to the head of the intelligence section, held a meeting with Sgan Nitzav Amos Azari, head of intelligence in the central section, held a meeting with Sgan Nitzav Amos Azari, head of intelligence in the central section, who had compiled the original report. Bazel told Azari "Freeze all action by Sgan Nitzav Peled (southern area intelligence head) and only authorize action after coordination and the completion of information (gathering)."

This, *Ma'ariv* wrote yesterday, was the "order from above" which is said to have halted all further action on the original report.

In Tel Aviv yesterday, Turgeman said Hefetz was not suited to head the Central Police Unit, because his background was military and not police-oriented.

Turgeman noted that while he has no personal quarrel with Hefetz, he was critical of the latter's functioning in this post.

Turgeman did not comment on reporters' statements that Hefetz was not the original "leaker" and that other senior officers have leaked and will continue to do so, causing much graver damage.

Turgeman said he refrained from commenting in public, until now because he had not felt involved. But now that newspapers were publishing details of allegations against him, he had decided to make his position clear.

Commenting on former police officers' criticism of the "reign of terror" Turgeman had allegedly imposed, Turgeman said two officers who had appeared on television wanted to "settle accounts" with him because he had demanded that they work properly.

Turgeman said he was aware of his reputation as one who could not delegate responsibility and took strict measures against negligence and disobedience.

"That's my style, that's my way and I believe in it. If anyone thinks I've done him injustice, let him come here and we'll talk about it," he said.

U.S.-EGYPT

(Continued from Page One)

pact, signed in 1976, which provides for mutual support in the event of an outside attack on either country.

All reiterated yesterday: "Libya holds responsibility for the attack... evidence has been established from the type of bombs used and the plane, a Soviet-built Tupolev-22, which only Libya owns."

The Libyan Foreign Ministry summoned Arab and African ambassadors yesterday to deny any Libyan involvement in Friday's raid.

The official Libyan news agency Jana described the raid as part of an attempted revolution by the Sudanese air force.



Dr. Wilhelm Gruner, a kidney specialist who is part of a Soviet peace delegation currently visiting Israel, is yesterday shown some of the specialized equipment in the kidney unit at Bellinson Hospital in Petah Tikva by Dr. Mor, deputy director of the hospital. The peace delegation, head Yuri Barbashev, editor of *Sovetskaya Kultura* (Soviet Culture), agreed to pass on to the appropriate bodies a proposal to translate Hebrew literature into Soviet languages. (IPPE)

'Sex in return for dropping charges'

Jerusalem Post Staff

TEL AVIV. — A senior Tel Aviv police officer is under investigation on suspicion of demanding sexual favours in return for closing a criminal file.

The officer with the rank of sergeant (chief superintendent) is suspected of demanding sexual favours from a policewoman in return for closing a criminal investigation against her father.

The officer's phone was reportedly tapped and investigators allegedly listened in to a conversation between him and the policewoman. The officer, who has served in the force for many years, was summoned to an interrogation in Jerusalem, where he complained of humiliating treatment. He has not been suspended and is continuing in his daily duties at the Tel Aviv police headquarters.

POLICE CHIEF

(Continued from Page One)

for general had shown unacceptable discrimination against him, Hefetz claimed, particularly in comparison with the treatment given to other senior officers who had also been under investigation for involvement in other episodes.

He referred to investigations involving Tel Aviv District Commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeman, his own deputy Sgan Nitzav-Moshe Friedman, Sgan Nitzav-Yoram Yitzhaki, of the Galilee district police, and to the case involving Nitzav Mishne-Norman Feit. Feit, he said, had been suspected of leaking secret material on the *Afsek* file in the investigation of former religious affairs minister Aharon Abuhazana, but he had not been suspended from his post.

Hefetz said that when he was informed of his suspension he had hastened to Jerusalem to see Interior Minister Yosef Burg. He taught the minister on his way out of his office to his car. But all the minister had done was to mutter, "It will all be checked, it will all be checked."

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journalists, and that the police spokesman himself referred journalists to the officers.

Hefetz's application also detailed his investigation by Tel Aviv District police chief, Gonen, he said, had told him that he knew Hefetz had not leaked the information, but that he was being investigated because of his connections with journalists. Gonen had taken from his safe a tape of telephone conversations between Hefetz and journalists, compiled from a telephone tap on his home phone, Hefetz told the court. It was on the basis of these telephone taps that he was being investigated, Gonen had told him.

Hefetz was then told by the head of police personnel that he was to be suspended. He refused to meet with Itzhan and with the minister of the interior (who is in charge of the police) went unanswered. Hefetz told the court.

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A MEMORIAL MEETING

observing the shloshim of our beloved

JENNY FINK

to be held, on Wednesday, March 21, 1984 at 3.30 p.m.

in the Jenny Fink Dining Hall,

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Jerusalem Chug

Israel Executive Board

The family in Israel mourns the passing in

Cleveland of

BECKY KEKST

Sitting shiva in Israel are her sisters Mona Hefetz at 118/5 P. Hebron Street Kiryat Hayovel, Jerusalem, and Annie Marks at 4 Carmeli Street, Ashkelon.

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of our dear

wife, mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother

CELIA RICHMAN

The funeral will take place on Monday, March 19, 1984

at 3 p.m. at the Savyon cemetery.

Husband: Joe Richman

Sons: Shmuel Amid and family

Moshe Amid and family

Grandchildren: Orit Heteroni and family

Dana Cohen and husband

JOHANNA ALBERSHEIM

is no more.

She passed away on March 11, 1984 in Herzliya Pituca.

She is mourned by her friends.

The deceased donated her body to science.

The ninth yahrzeit service for

Rabbi ABRAHAM MAYER HELLER

will be observed at the Mount of Olives cemetery

on Tuesday, March 20 at 12.30 p.m.

Transport will be provided at 12 noon, leaving from the Plaza



For the first time in the 155-year history of the Oxford-Cambridge boat race, the event was postponed last Saturday when the Cambridge boat collided with a tug during a warm-up before the race. The picture shows the Cambridge boat broken about six feet from the end.

Boat race result — Page 7

(UPI telephoto)

Weather fails to dampen Purim spirit

Jerusalem Post Staff
Jerusalem children took advantage of yesterday's mostly fair weather and paraded in their Purim costumes, fearful that rain today might make the merrymaking more difficult.

The capital had a festive atmosphere, even though Shushan Purim — designated for those cities that had walls during the time of Joshua — is Jerusalem's chance to celebrate the foiling of Haman's plan to destroy the Jews of Persia in ancient times.

As the skies darkened later yesterday, many residents hurried to synagogues, where the Book of Esther was read aloud, repeating once again the story of Queen Esther, Mordechai, King Ahasuerus and the wicked Haman. Children stamped their feet and sounded noisemakers whenever Haman's name was mentioned. The *megilla* is to be read again this morning.

President Chaim Herzog last night attended the reading of the *megilla* at the Italian Synagogue in the center of Jerusalem.

Some 300 youths active in the Zionist Council around the country visited absorption centers yesterday and brought Purim parcels to hundreds of families of new immigrants. Among the recipients were Ethiopian Jews who arrived in recent months and discovered Purim for the first time.

Many offices, both public and

private, will be closed in Jerusalem today, as Shushan Purim is an optional holiday.

Thousands of Tel Aviv residents attended the Purim happening held on the sea-front promenade yesterday as a joint project of the Dan and Sheraton Hotels. Entertainment was provided by a clown on stilts and by a street theatre troupe *Tarbut Plus*, also dressed as clowns.

The managers of the two hotels cut a ribbon spanning the distance between the hotels as a symbol of their partnership in this effort. They hope other hotels will join them in future programmes to bring more activity to the promenade.

In Haifa neither the weather nor the economic gloom affected the high spirits at the city's annual "Archiparchitura" Purim parade yesterday.

Thousands of people lined the streets in central parts of the Hadar quarter to watch the floats, carrying giant models of favourite television characters including the Smurfs (Dardassim) and the Muppets. The parade took an hour to pass.

The procession, led by Mayor Arye Gurel dressed as King Ahasuerus, also included dance groups, clowns, youth entertainment groups and many others. Organizers blamed this year's fewer floats on the recession. The same excuse could not be applied to city councillors, less than a third of whom bothered to don costumes and participate in the

event, which cost \$900,000 to stage.

For the second successive year the rain, which had fallen earlier in the day, held off just long enough for the parade and the subsequent costume competition and prisediving to take place.

Pouring rain did not prevent Kiryat Shmona citizens from celebrating, although the parade for the festival was smaller than planned.

Some 850 students from all over the country came to this northern town to help the population celebrate. Among the merry-makers here too were Ethiopian immigrants, including children.

Army Radio led the news pranksters yesterday morning with a lengthy report of a secret "decision" by the cabinet to extend the winter rainy season four months by seeding the clouds with a "revolutionary" chemical.

The country has suffered a rainfall shortage of up to 50 per cent in some areas this winter, Water Commissioner Zemach Ishai said in a serious interview.

Former prime minister Menachem Begin also was a popular figure for the jokes. Comedian Shlomo Nitzan announced on his radio show that efforts were being made to convince the International Red Cross to visit Begin "the prisoner," who has secluded himself from public life since he resigned last September.

Way sought to lower synagogue electric bills

Jerusalem Post Staff
The Energy Ministry yesterday denied reports that the proposal to charge synagogues the domestic rate for electricity instead of the higher commercial rate paid by all other public institutions, would go into effect soon.

The ministry spokesman said that this was just one of several options being considered by the ministry and the Electric Corporation to lower the high electricity bills now being paid by synagogues. Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i is to meet next Sunday with the chairman of the corporation to discuss this matter, the spokesman said.

Alternatively, synagogues may be

encouraged to buy a "Shabbat clock" which automatically turns the lights on or off at a preset hour. Many synagogues apparently leave the lights on throughout the Shabbat and holidays in view of the religious prohibition against turning them off manually.

Another proposal is to include synagogues among the recipients of the special rates for consumption at non-peak hours, which are now applied only to industry. These rates are to be extended to other types of consumers later this year.

The spokesman said that synagogues had sent many requests to the ministry for lower electricity

rates over the last two years, and that recently the requests were supported by pressure from Agudat Yisrael.

The Electric Corporation discussed the proposal to charge synagogues the domestic rate, which is about 20 per cent cheaper than the commercial one, at its meeting last week. Several members expressed concern that it would set a dangerous precedent. They said it could open the floodgates to other public institutions — including voluntary aid organizations like the Ilan society for handicapped children — whose repeated requests to have their bills calculated on the cheaper rate have been rejected.

'350 Israeli prostitutes in West Germany'

AYELET HASHAHAR (Tm) — A member of this kibbutz said here yesterday that some 350 Israeli women are working as prostitutes in West Germany and some 400 young Israelis are in prison there on drug-related charges.

Herut Lapid, who heads the kibbutz movement's criminal rehabilitation department, has just returned from a visit to the Federal Republic, where he met with Israeli

prisoners and German law enforcement officials.

The figure of 350 prostitutes is official, with these women all registered with the authorities. These are believed to be many more than are officially registered.

Lapid said that so far 20 former prisoners, mostly those guilty of crimes against property, had been rehabilitated on kibbutzim under a special programme. The kibbutz

movement did not feel qualified to rehabilitate drug dealers and brothel operators, he said, although it was prepared to help former drug addicts by integrating them into kibbutz "social life" and work in agriculture and industry. Lapid hoped to persuade every kibbutz to accept at least one former criminal.

Lapid was in Turkey earlier this year, where he helped secure the release of five Israelis imprisoned there on charges of drug dealing.

Special belts for front-seat children

By AARON SITNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

As of April 1 it will be illegal for a child under 14 to ride in the front seat of a motor vehicle without wearing a special juvenile harness.

Transport Ministry spokesman Yehiel Amitai told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday: "Seat belts have been found ineffectual on children, since the restraining strips or slings are either too loose to hold a child's body or too high, and bind around the young rider's neck."

"That is why the new harness order has been signed. Use of the harness becomes obligatory at the beginning of next month."

He added that an Israeli standard for the children's harness has been formulated by the Standards Institute "but we will also accept harnesses complying with the U.S., British or European Economic Community standards."

"However," he emphasized, "the ministry still recommends that passengers under 14 years of age ride in the rear seat of a motor vehicle, where their safety is more assured."

In related news, the ministry's Road Safety Authority this week inaugurates hundreds of "hazard reporting stations" in 36 cities, towns and settlements throughout the country. More than 200,000 post cards are being distributed among school pupils, on which they or their parents are urged to report such danger points as pot holes on roads, flooding conditions, faded paint on traffic signs or street crossings, and hazardous conditions on sidewalks.

ROYAL VISIT. — Queen Margrethe of Denmark and her husband Prince Henrik yesterday officially started a three-day state visit to Saudi Arabia.

Poet Wieseltier to receive \$20,000 literary prize

Poet Meir Wieseltier will be awarded the Elite Jubilee prize — the country's biggest literary prize, worth \$20,000 — it was announced yesterday. The 43-year-old Russian-born poet will receive the prize shortly.

Two other prizes for writings about Youth Aliya will be awarded to Eli Amir, the author of *The Scapgoat*, and Uziel Hazan for his book *Armand*. The prizes will be awarded on March 26 at a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of Youth Aliya.

FUND. — The Ernst Baburger memorial endowment fund for legal studies was established last week at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Named for a Stockholm Jewish attorney, it will be used to help the faculty of law and for student scholarships.



This Scroll of Esther (Megillat Esther) from China will go on display in Tel Aviv's Beth Hatefutsoth in April. The scroll, from an American collection, was lettered in the Middle East and illuminated in the Jewish community of Kalfeng during the 18th century.

Marrow transplant here saves Singapore boy

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jonathan Tan, the first child from the Far East to come to Israel for a bone marrow transplant, will be going home to Singapore soon.

As the seven-year-old raced around the room aiming his Purim cap pistol at everyone yesterday, it was hard to believe that just two months ago he had been seriously ill with leukemia.

Queenie Tan, Jonathan's mother, said the boy had been ill with leukemia since last May and had been treated at Singapore General Hospital where a temporary remission of his disease had been achieved.

Tan, a nurse, had hoped that when Prof. Shimon Slavin, head of the Hadassah Hospital (Ein Kerem) transplant unit, was in Singapore last November for teaching sessions, her son would be one of the two children chosen to undergo transplants. However, the doctors chose two 12-year-old boys.

Tan went to see Slavin herself and had him examine her son. Slavin said he thought the boy was a good candidate for a transplant.

Jonathan's father, Tan Yow Keng, a systems analyst, and his wife, decided to bring Jonathan to Israel. But they lacked the funds to pay for the trip and a stay of several months in Israel.

They were helped by the Singapore English-language daily newspaper, *The Straits Times*, which mounted a public campaign to raise the money. The effort was so successful that the Tans were able to leave a large sum in the fund which will be used to send another child here for a transplant.

But when Jonathan, together with his parents, his brother Daniel, 4, who was to donate the bone marrow, and his infant sister arrived in Israel, it was found Jonathan's remission had ended. This changed the probabilities of a successful transplant from close to 90 per cent to around 10 per cent.

Slavin and his team decided to try a

transplant anyway and on the last day of January, Jonathan began the long and debilitating series of body radiation and chemotherapy treatments that would suppress his own sick bone marrow to prevent rejection of healthy marrow from his brother. Fortunately, the two boys were genetically matched siblings, which is the best possible recipient donor system after identical twin.

The transplant was performed on February 9 and within a short time it was obvious that it was successful. Jonathan was released from Hadassah on March 9.

Although Jonathan can go home, there is the fear of a relapse within the first months after the transplant and a permanent cure is only certain after one year. The Tans, happy with the returned vigour and health of their child, have decided to stay in Jerusalem a while longer.

Hadassah has had remarkable success in the past two years with bone marrow transplants, and Slavin's team is performing several operations a month.



Bone marrow transplant recipient Jonathan Tan (left) poses with his happy family and Prof. Shimon Slavin (in gown), who headed the team that carried out the operation at Hadassah Hospital, Ein Kerem. (Scoop 80)

Zamir: Financial information is private

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir has ruled that local authorities are not entitled to disclose details of a citizen's financial situation without his permission.

The municipality may not even disclose the number of the bank account from which his local taxes are deducted.

The attorney-general noted that

the invasion of privacy law prohibits the use of computerized information for any purpose other than that for which it was gathered.

It is perfectly legitimate for a municipality to provide details about a given property, but this is very different from giving information about the financial situation of the owner of that property, said the attorney-general's ruling.

Shipyards workers let Zim Marseilles leave dock

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The workers at the Hildel Israel Shipyards yesterday allowed the freighter Zim Marseilles off the floating dock, after five days of delaying a labour court order to release the ship.

This follows a Zim company warning that it would stop using the yard if the ship were not freed immediately.

Repairs on the vessel were completed last Tuesday but the workers held it back in their fight against the

dismissal of 180 of the government-owned yard's 850 men.

The management also asked for an injunction last week to order the men to stop all industrial action, including the prevention of outside subcontractors from carrying out their work. However, management is not pressing for a quick hearing in the hope that the breathing space will make it possible to reach agreement on the dismissals, a third of them in the form of early retirement.

Euro-parliamentarians expected for talks

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A 50-member delegation of the Council of Europe's Education and Culture Committee arrives in Israel tomorrow for three days of talks with government leaders and Knesset members.

Among the group are parliamentarians from 17 countries. Israel has observer status at Council of Europe deliberations, and the council periodically sends groups to Israel for discussions here.

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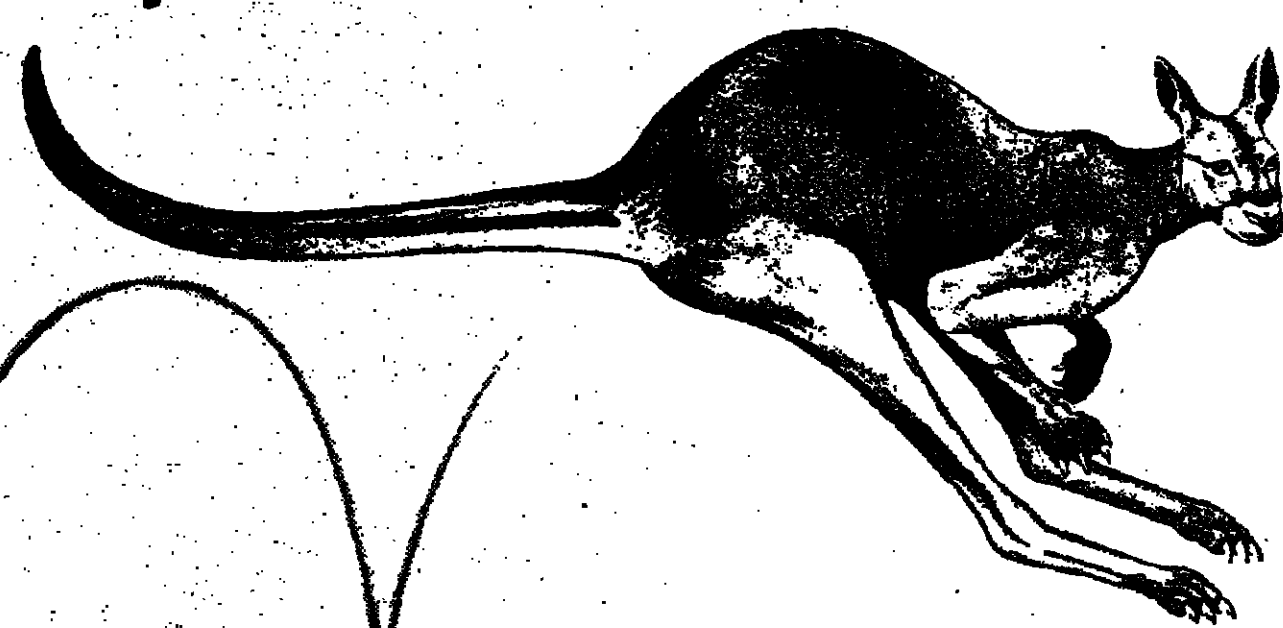
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WORLD NEWS

UK police encircle coalfield to keep out 'flying pickets'

LONDON (Reuters). — About 2,000 police were moved into one of Britain's biggest coalfields yesterday to prevent clashes between striking and non-striking miners. Squads of police were preparing roadblocks on all major routes into Nottinghamshire in central England to keep out an expected invasion of "flying pickets" from other regions. The pickets are trying to enforce a nationwide pit strike backed by

the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and in force in four militant fields, including the biggest, Yorkshire. The strike aims to halt an official pit closure programme. The 34,000 miners in Nottinghamshire, the second biggest coalfield, Saturday joined six other regions in voting against a strike and yesterday agreed to report to work today. Attorney-General Sir Michael

Havers said the police reinforcements would see that the Nottinghamshire men were able to go to work. He said in a radio interview that police turning back coachloads of pickets would be using their powers in a common law against breaches of the peace — not the controversial labour reform laws of the Conservative government. NUM president Arthur Scargill made clear that the flying pickets

would go into action again today. Mass picketing closed Nottinghamshire's pits and all but a handful of others around Britain last week. One flying picket from Yorkshire died in a picket line melee in Nottinghamshire. The Yorkshire NUM faces contempt of court proceedings today for ignoring an order to call off the pickets. It could face fines and confiscation of its assets.

Four killed in Calcutta rioting

CALCUTTA (AP). — A senior police official, his bodyguard and two civilians were slain yesterday in bloody Moslem-Hindu rioting and arson that led to the deaths of at least 29 people as the two sides battled with rocks, firebombs, acid and knives.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew was clamped on the violence-torn Garden Reach and Metia Bruz districts of Calcutta after the dismembered bodies of the two police officers were discovered. Police Commissioner Nirupam Som said. Hundreds of paramilitary troops and armed police reinforcements were rushed to the riot-battered areas, where an estimated 35 people were injured.

"We now have brought the situation under control," Som said. "Any further violence will be put down with an iron hand."

The cut-up body of Calcutta Deputy Police Commissioner V.K. Mehta was found in a drain in the impoverished Garden Reach area and his bodyguard, who was not named, was also found dismembered in a burned shack, witnesses said.

They apparently were ambushed after police opened fire on rampaging mobs yesterday, killing two people. The violence erupted so quickly that it took the police by surprise.

Iran adds germ warfare to its charges against Iraq

LONDON (Reuters). — Iran said yesterday that Iraq was using germ-laden weapons as well as chemical bombs in the latest fighting in the Gulf war.

Experts sent by the UN to investigate the Iranian claims left Tehran yesterday to return to the southern front where the Iranian news agency Irna said they would check the effects of chemical and bacteriological-bombing by the Iraqis on Saturday.

Irna, monitored here, said the experts from Australia, Spain and Sweden would also interview the latest Iranian casualties reportedly caused by chemical and bacteriological weapons and nerve gas.

Another 460 Iranian combatants affected by such weapons in three attacks on Saturday brought to 2,200 the number thus wounded in the past four weeks, Irna said.

Tehran has repeatedly alleged the use of chemical and nerve gases by Iraq, but this was believed to be its first reference to the use of germ warfare. Baghdad has denied the Iranian charges and has expressed readiness to cooperate in any international investigation.

Iraq and Iran both reported heavy fighting on Saturday near the Majnoon islands. Iraq said its forces repulsed an advance in the region, killing 1,000 Iranian soldiers. Iran, meanwhile, said it repulsed an Iraqi attack, killing or wounding 500 soldiers.

Iraq said on Saturday that Iran was preparing for a new offensive to capture specific targets inside Iraq, and vowed the attackers would be "torn apart." A statement broadcast by Baghdad Radio said Iraq would retaliate by striking at specific targets deep inside Iraq.

Captured terrorist leader handed over to N. Ireland

DUBLIN (Reuters). — Ireland's most wanted man, Republican terrorist leader Dominic "Mad Dog" McGlinchey, was extradited to Northern Ireland yesterday following his capture in the Irish Republic in a gunbattle with police.

Police said McGlinchey, 30, was handed over to Northern Ireland security forces at a customs post on the main Dublin-Belfast road after the Supreme Court rejected a last-minute legal bid to block his extradition.

The speedy action by the Dublin government was the most dramatic example to date of cross-border cooperation to combat Republican terrorists who have pledged to end British rule in Northern Ireland.

McGlinchey, head of the hard-line Irish National Liberation Army, is wanted in Northern Ireland in connection with a string of political murders and bombings. He has admitted to personal involvement in 30 murders and 200 bombings.

Two years ago a Dublin court, in a landmark decision, ordered McGlinchey's extradition to the north in connection with the murder of an elderly woman in 1977. But McGlinchey jumped bail after his appeal to the Supreme Court was turned down, and had been on the run until his capture yesterday.

He and three colleagues surrendered on Saturday after an hour-long gunbattle with 40 heavily-armed members of Ireland's crack anti-terrorist unit who had surrounded them in an isolated cottage in County Clare.

Lawyers acting for McGlinchey obtained a High Court injunction blocking his extradition until the legality of the 1982 decision had been examined. But the Supreme Court, meeting in an extraordinary late-night session at the government's request, upheld its original verdict.

Salvador rebels vow to sabotage polls

SAN SALVADOR (AP). — Leftist rebels on Saturday announced a major offensive to disrupt the upcoming El Salvador presidential elections, claiming to have mined three major highways and engaging in scattered fighting.

"We are going to step up the war before, during and after the elections," the guerrillas' clandestine Radio Venceremos said in a broadcast monitored here.

"The dictatorship and imperialism have implored us for a truce to let its farce (the March 25 elections) go by. From now on there will be no truce. We are and will remain at war, as long as the basic reasons that cause it remain," the broadcast said.

The elections, the broadcast said, "constitute a coverup for a plan for direct intervention by American troops."

Eight parties are fielding candidates, but the presidential race is between Christian Democrat Jose Napoleon Duarte, a moderate, and far-rightist Roberto D'Aubuisson of the Republican Nationalist Alliance, a former army major said to be linked to the death squads.

In the Radio Venceremos broadcast, Joaquin Villalobos, the rebel commander for eastern El Salvador, said the guerrillas had mined the Pan-American highway, the military road and the coastal highway — the country's three east-west arteries.

Ancient Buddhist temple found in Kabul

ISLAMABAD (AP). — Archeologists in Afghanistan have unearthed a "majestic" 1,600-year-old Buddhist temple in Kabul, the Soviet Embassy in Pakistan reported yesterday.

The site, at the capital's Maranj hill, also yielded terracotta statues and bronze and copper coins, the embassy said in a daily report on Soviet activities.

The announcement was unusual in that the Soviets rarely comment on developments in Afghanistan, which has been torn by an anti-Communist insurrection. Soviet troops have been stationed there since 1979.

While the embassy news release did not reveal the full extent of the

excavation, it said "there is no doubt that the town, by the standards of the period, boasted highly developed productive forces and culture."

"These finds prove that the Afghans' remote forefathers professed Buddhism that was widely spread in the Kushan state," it said.

The Kushan family ruled a vast area stretching from the Arabian Sea to the Himalaya mountain range in the north, and to the Ganges River in the east, from CE 100 to 400.

Relics from the Kushan era were first discovered in Afghanistan in the mid-19th century, the Soviet report said. It added that an Afghan archeological research institute had been established in Kabul in 1967

Chess grandmaster calls rest day in tournament

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Soviet chess grandmaster Vasily Smyslov, trailing three points to one in his battle with compatriot Gary Kasparov, declared yesterday a rest day, postponing the next game until tomorrow.

The games, being played in Vilnius, capital of the Soviet Baltic republic of Lithuania, begin on alternate days, allowing two days for play if required. Each player can declare a rest day at any time twice

with assistance from the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Since a 1978 coup d'etat brought a Communist regime to power in Kabul, Afghan authorities have devoted "particular attention" to the country's cultural development and history, the embassy said.

It said all historical monuments are now under government protection and that a number of important discoveries have been made. The most significant discovery was that of the royal tombs near Shibarghan, in northern Faryab province, bordering the Soviet Union.

It said the royal burial ground contained 20,000 gold and silver items, including "fascinating jewelry, unique statues, tableware and household appliances."

Sports on page 7

ISRAELI LANDS ADMINISTRATION

Southern Region

ARIM Municipal Development Co. Ltd.

Owner-Occupier Construction, Shechunat Neve Noi, Beersheba, Allocation 4/84

In collaboration with the Arim Co., the Israel Lands Administration announces registration for the above programme, under which 37 plots will be allocated for the construction of 48 housing units, as follows:

- 25 plots for the construction of 25 single-family houses
- 12 two-family plots for the construction of semi-detached houses.

Registration at the Arim Co., Beersheba, Rascos Centre, Room 231, from today, Monday, March 19 at 9.00 a.m.; registration will close at 6.30 p.m. on Sunday, April 8, 1984.

Additional particulars and a detailed prospectus are available at the following offices:

- Arim Co., address as above.
- The Israel Lands Administration, Rehov Ben Zvi (over Ulamel Yahalom) Beersheba

Israel, Britain and the Commonwealth Association

takes pleasure in announcing
A LUNCHEON MEETING

to be held Thursday, March 29, 1984 at 1.15 p.m.
at Beit Sokoilov, 4 Kaplan St., Tel Aviv

Guest Speaker

Lt. Gen (Res.) MORDECHAI GUR, MK,

Former Chief of Staff of I.D.F.

The Luncheon will be preceded by the Annual General Meeting to take place at 12.45 p.m.

Reservations, with remittances — paid up members IS 1250, guests and others IS 1500 — to the Hon. Secretary, P.O.B. 4090, Tel Aviv 61040, or made by phone to Mr. Y. Levine, Tel. 03-285244 between 9.00 a.m. - 3.00 p.m.

Modern dress for Kuwaiti women drivers

KUWAIT (AP). — Women who drive in Kuwait were yesterday forbidden to don any Moslem head-dress while at the wheel by order of the Minister of Interior, Sheikh Nawaf al-Ahmed.

Interior Ministry officials explained that the order was meant as "a security precaution."

Kuwait was rocked by a spate of bomb attacks last December for which 25 alleged pro-Iranian terrorists have been tried and are to be sentenced on March 27.

Four of the 25 were tried in absentia, as they are still on the run with a police dragnet out for them. The officials said these people could be moving around disguised as veiled women. They also feared the headdress could be used by other potential saboteurs.

Although a good percentage of Kuwaiti women normally dress European style and are unveiled, the headdress — pushed to the extreme of the chador in Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran — is traditional throughout the Moslem Gulf region.

The optimistic tone contrasted with a gloomy report on economic prospects by Deputy Prime Minister Zogbiel Messner, who is in overall charge of the economy, and who said some trends were "downright unfavourable."

References to the political situation ignored a recent rise in tension with the Roman Catholic Church over efforts by the authorities to ban religious symbols from public buildings and evidence of growing repression on all forms of dissent in Poland.

The conference said the party, its ranks slimmed by almost a third to 2.2 million members as a result of resignations and a purge of corrupt or incompetent officials, had gained "political and moral force" as a result.

A national conference of the party, the first since Solidarity's challenge to the authorities, gave a full and final seal of official approval to the 20-month period of military rule which followed the union's suppression in 1981.

It ended a three-day session with an effusive declaration of support for party leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and praise for the role of the army, police and security services in restoring Communist rule.

The conference, although it acknowledged that economic difficulties remained, said that reforms adopted under martial law were starting to yield results and that the

Numbers Games

Campaigning Along the Low Road To Illinois

By HOWELL RAINES

FOR almost two weeks, Gary Hart remained silent under Walter F. Mondale's repeated suggestions that Americans should not entrust the Presidency to a man as unknown, untested and perhaps unstable as Mr. Hart. Finally, on Thursday, Mr. Hart struck. "He knows in his heart there is no blemish on my character that would prohibit me from governing this country in this decade," Mr. Hart said. Later that day, the Colorado Senator backtracked, saying he had been incorrectly told that the former Vice President was running commercials about the fact that Mr. Hart has changed his name, his date of birth and his signature.

The curious incident underscored the extent to which the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination has become a contest in which the candidates' liabilities may be more important than their strengths. Strategists on both sides are bracing for a clash of negatives. Does Mr. Mondale, despite being propped up by endorsements and a seasoned staff, suffer from a chronic inability to stir the American people? Do the quirks in Mr. Hart's biography signify deeper problems of character and personality? That is what the candidates themselves are suggesting.

The Campaign for Congress, page 2

as they exchange denigrations in what is, following last Tuesday's voting in 11 primaries and caucuses, more clearly a two-man race.

Former Senator George McGovern of South Dakota dropped out immediately; two days later, Senator John Glenn of Ohio, once thought of as the most serious challenger to Mr. Mondale, ended his last-minute candidacy. Mr. Hart won primaries in Florida, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, taking 38 percent, 39 percent and 45 percent of the vote respectively. Mr. Mondale ground out victories in Alabama and Georgia, with 34 percent and 31 percent. Although the Rev. Jesse Jackson is still a candidate, the stage was set for Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale to highlight each other's vulnerabilities.

With Mr. Mondale, the problem is simply that he is more popular with "Democratic bosses" than with



Walter F. Mondale in Miami Beach last week; Senator Gary Hart at campaign rally in Washington.

Democratic voters. Although he had more delegates than Mr. Hart going into the six caucuses held yesterday, he has kept his candidacy alive only through the expenditure of tremendous amounts of money and political energy. With more than two months to go before the last contests, he has already spent \$14 million of the \$20.2 million allowed under Federal law. Yet in no primary has he broken through the "ceiling," usually around 33 percent to 37 percent, that poll takers have found in his level of public support. Labor has turned out to be an essential life-support system, but one that may be slowly undermining his long-term political health. It seemed crucial to his victories in Iowa and Alabama, and was expected to be an asset in the Michigan caucuses yesterday. But The New York Times/CBS NEWS Poll found that a majority of voters surveyed last week believe unions have too much power.

Mr. Mondale's strategy is to bag the nomination by using caucuses to quietly pile up an insurmountable lead in delegates. But he needs some well-publicized primary

victories to build enthusiasm among caucus voters. In sum, his own plan brings him face to face with the unanswered question of whether he can build a reliable popular following. For good or ill, the answer will come in the series of big-state primaries that begins Tuesday in Illinois and continues in New York on April 3 and Pennsylvania on April 10. "If we don't win any primaries," said a Mondale adviser, "we won't be nominated."

Mr. Hart's main liability is of a different sort. In New Hampshire and Florida, he proved that he can get votes from independents and from Democrats across the party's ideological spectrum. But like Jimmy Carter in 1976, Mr. Hart has paid for his rise by receiving intense scrutiny from the press, and attacks from his opponents intended to raise the question of whether he is somehow flaky. And as Mr. Carter fed doubts about his personality with his "just-in-my-heart" interview with Playboy magazine in the fall of 1976, Mr. Hart has fed suspicions that some advisers regard as a serious threat. Even with close friends, for example, he has refused to go into details about his decision to subtract a year from his age on many official documents, beyond hinting that he was trying to accommodate a wish of his late mother to be regarded as younger than she actually was.

A little mystery can be an attractive quality. But too much can inspire fears among voters and investigative zeal among reporters. Even as he admitted that the Mondale organization was not broadcasting attacks on his character, Mr. Hart accused it of "fairly systematically" spreading rumors about him. Already, key Hart advisers are complaining that the network news shows, a main vehicle for his surge in popularity, have turned on him by airing stories about his personal life, including one report that he changed his signature by dropping his middle name. "The Monday night news on all three networks looked like the raining of missiles," grumbled Patrick H. Caddell, a Hart strategist. "Would only that they pursued Ronald Reagan on substance the way they pursue this."

Along with the candidates, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is headed toward a reckoning. Federation officials acknowledge that the idea in endorsing Mr. Mondale, a longtime ally, was to regain through political action strength that labor has lost in recent years on the organizing front. Now the campaign moves into labor's power zone, states in the industrial Middle West and the East where 30 to 40 percent of the work force is unionized. A.F.L.-C.I.O. officers say it would be unfair to conclude that labor is a paper tiger if Mondale loses. But that is what both politicians and the press will say.

A broader concern for the Democrats is what the voters will be saying about them after Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale get through with each other. Playing off Mr. Mondale's "Where's the beef?" remark about Mr. Hart, Mr. McGovern left behind a warning in keeping with his self-appointed role as party peacekeeper. "There is enough beef in both of them," he said as he withdrew, "if they don't turn each other to hamburger."



The Rev. Jesse Jackson campaigning at Valdosta State College in Georgia. The 21 percent of the vote that Mr. Jackson won in Georgia's primary last week re-established his eligibility for Federal campaign funds. His showing over-all kept him a third force in the Democratic race. More on Presidential politics in the New South, Page 2

United Press International

Major News

In-Summary

Senators Want More Answers From Meese

By now, Presidential counselor Edwin Meese 3d and the White House had expected his confirmation as Attorney General to be a mere formality, but last week the Senate Judiciary Committee decided to call him back for more questions.

The committee's plan to vote last week on his nomination was shelved after Mr. Meese—who had earlier devoted nearly two days of testimony to his personal finances—disclosed that he had "inadvertently failed" to report a \$15,000, interest-free loan to his wife from Edwin W. Thomas, a former White House assistant. Mr. Meese said that his wife had used the loan, which was made in 1981 and eventually repaid, to purchase stock, which was sold last year at a loss of about \$3,000.

"There will be no cover-up," said the committee chairman, Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina. "We want the truth, and the full truth, but we also want no undue delay." There was considerable partisan bickering on the committee,

so by week's end it wasn't clear what issues would be raised when Mr. Meese testified. But senior members were said to have agreed that the witness list should include Mr. Thomas, who in 1982 was appointed regional administrator for the General Services Administration in San Francisco, and business associates of other men who had provided financial assistance for Mr. Meese and were subsequently named to Federal jobs. Some committee Democrats want a number of senior Presidential aides to be called as well. The panel's most persistent critic of Mr. Meese, Ohio Democrat Howard M. Metzenbaum, released documents obtained from a House subcommittee in an apparent challenge to Mr. Meese's statements denying knowledge of the 1980 Reagan campaign's use of debate briefing papers prepared for President Carter.

Republicans had questions as well. Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, said he was concerned about, among other things, the appointment to the United States Postal Service board of governors of John R. McKean, who had lent \$60,000 to Mr. Meese. "The issue," said Mr. Specter, "is did Mr. Meese get favorable treatment as a quid pro quo?" On Friday, Mr. Meese fired

back, maintaining that his opponents were attempting to score election-year points; he was looking forward, he said, to another appearance before the panel "so that the truth can prevail." Yesterday, Attorney General William French Smith met with top aides on whether to begin a preliminary inquiry in the Meese case.

U.S. Policies Anger Hussein

Jordan's King Hussein hasn't had much cause for joy since he declared war on Israel in 1967 and quickly lost East Jerusalem and the West Bank. But last week, he seemed unusually gloomy. In an interview with The New York Times that set alarm bells ringing in Washington, the King disparaged the Administration's mediation efforts. "I now realize that principles mean nothing to the United States," he contended. "Short-term issues, especially in election years, prevail." Accusing the United States of "succumbing to the dictates of Israel," he insisted there was "no way by which anyone should imagine it would be possible for Arabs to sit down and talk with Israel" at present.

The Administration was dismayed. President Reagan had just surprised a Jewish charity audience by urging support for supplying Jordan with 1,600 Stinger missiles, a sale Israel strongly opposes. With dozens of members of Congress also against the deal, the King's appraisal "surely makes it a lot more difficult," said

Robert C. McFarlane, the White House national security adviser. State Department spokesman John Hughes said Arabs and Israelis "must know there is no possibility of progress toward peace in the absence of negotiation." He added, "The forces of extremism and terrorism are complicating the situation in the region, increasing the risks to moderates who contemplate joining the peace process."

American officials said the King was also upset when the President last week rejected his requests for support for renewed United Nations condemnation of Israeli settlements on the West Bank, and for pressure on Israel to allow West Bank residents a role in the Palestine Liberation Organization's parliamentary body.

Moves toward peace in southern Africa

4

Reagan's New Budget

A Tactical Retreat on Military Spending

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON WITH televised fanfare, President Reagan came out to the Rose Garden last week to announce that he was pulling back on his military spending requests. But the first sign that there may be less than meets the eye in the Administration's "compromise" spending levels came from the Administration itself. A White House "fact sheet" said Mr. Reagan was now seeking only a 5.1 percent increase in military spending authority for the 1985 fiscal year after of inflation, rather than the 13 percent increase he proposed in January. A day later, however, the Office of Management and Budget acknowledged that the increase was actually 7.8 percent.

To placate Republican Congressional leaders, the Administration had joined in Washington's time-honored percentage game. There was a discrepancy, the O.M.B. explained, because two different figures could be used as a base for the calculation. A White House official gave the political explanation: the President was hoping to make his concession look bigger than it was.

Since Feb. 1, when Mr. Reagan first unveiled his \$226 billion budget for the fiscal year that begins Oct. 1, it had been obvious to both Republicans and Democrats in Congress, and most White House officials as well, that he would have to accept some trims in Pentagon spending authority. Even if the White House's assumptions about a robust course for the economy in the next few years prove correct, Federal deficits were on an unacceptably high path. The only question for Administration strategists was how to avoid the slicing of military spending that took place at every step of the budget process last year. Mr. Reagan, who had asked for an increase of nearly 8 percent, was left with a 3.7 percent rise. "We got nicked and dinged to death last year," said a White House official last week. "We had to figure out a way to avoid that this year."

The first step was for the President to propose, in his State of the Union Message in January, to vault over the budget process by conducting bipartisan negotiations with the Democratic leadership on a modest three-year \$100 billion "down payment" on the deficit consisting of noncontroversial spending cuts and tax increases and a modest reduction in the

\$150 Billion in Nips and Tucks

The Pentagon

Last week's compromise would put the military's spending authority at \$1,004 billion for the next three years instead of \$1,061 billion. Actual outlays would come down \$40.2 billion.

Domestic Spending

Freezing some discretionary programs and entitlement "reforms" here and there would save \$43.2 billion in three years.

Revenues

The Treasury would collect \$48 billion in new taxes by 1987.

The National Debt

Less Federal borrowing would reduce interest payments by \$18 billion.

growth of military spending. The talks failed once the Democrats concluded that it was not in their political interest to allow them to succeed. Even if the negotiations were bipartisan, they feared that Mr. Reagan would get most of the credit for any progress on reducing the deficit, which many Democrats consider his biggest domestic political liability.

The President then turned to his fellow Republicans. They also proved tough people to bargain with. Many of them are concerned about the economic consequences of Mr. Reagan's insistence on holding the line on both his "economic recovery" tax cuts and his military spending buildup. They are also openly worried about their own political prospects. Led by Senator Pete V. Domenici, the New Mexico Republican who is chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, they pushed for a package that would put the Pentagon on a more restricted diet. Mr. Domenici's proposal implied that at least some weapons systems—perhaps even the MX missile, the Trident submarine and the B-1 bomber—would have to be postponed. The President preferred short-term cuts in readiness operations and maintenance, hoping those cuts could be restored next year. After much haggling, a package was hammered out that contemplates some reduction in weapons procurement, but not as much as Mr. Reagan said he feared.

The President went along after being promised by the Congressional Republicans that they would try to hold the line on further military cuts. "It's still going to be tough," said a senior White House aide. "But I think it would have been impossible if we hadn't gotten a broad commitment on this package." Senior Administration officials got to work immediately, predicting instant joy in the financial markets, which have been worrying for months that the multibillion-dollar deficits projected for years to come will drive interest rates up and cause another recession soon. Wall Street rallied. The Dow Jones industrial average finished Friday 16.96 points ahead.

But will the tactical retreating work on Capitol Hill? The Republican accord would reduce the deficit by a total of \$150 billion in the next three fiscal years—or \$50 billion more than the Administration declared politically possible or economically wise two months ago. And a good half of the package has already been approved by various committees in both houses; the Senate Finance Committee was putting the final touches on a tax bill last week.

But Congressional Democrats, still eager to find a way to upstage the President, have been talking since February about a \$200 billion deficit reduction package. Only hours after budget director David A. Stockman presented the White House "fact sheet," House Democrats were disputing the figures. The White House puts the deficit at \$143 billion by the 1987 fiscal year; the Democrats calculate it to be \$200 billion, only \$20 billion less than projected in the President's original budget.

The Democratic counterstrategy is to be unveiled this week, and some Democrats acknowledge that they still badly need a strategy to capture the fancy of a public glassy-eyed over endless budget jockeying. An idea emerging last week was to sound a new theme, "pay as you go"—or tell Mr. Reagan that if he wanted to increase military spending and thus the deficit, he should be prepared to come up with new revenues. The phrase "pay as you go" has been around American politics since the days of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Whether it could succeed this year is an open question.

The Nation

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The Senate Isn't Swayed on Silent Prayer

After nearly two weeks, the Senate may be about to conclude its hotly charged debate over prayer in the public schools.

Last week, the Senate voted 81 to 15 against a constitutional amendment sponsored by Alan J. Dixon, a Democrat from Illinois, that would have permitted only silent organized prayer but allowed students to hold religious meetings after class. Mr. Dixon called his proposal the "large middle ground that I believe most Americans support." But Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina Republican who heads the Judiciary Committee, maintained that the measure hadn't been sufficiently studied by his panel or by constitutional scholars. Day after tomorrow, the Senate is expected to vote at last on the amendment supported by President Reagan and approved by Mr. Thurmond's committee that would allow organized spoken prayer in public schools.

Opponents of the amendment predict that even if the measure clears the Senate, it won't be by the two-thirds margin required of constitutional amendments. Lowell P. Weicker Jr., Republican of Connecticut, who is leading the opposition, cautioned: "The President's got four days to lobby and that's not an insignificant time and he's not an insignificant man."

In an unusual personal effort, the President met Friday with some Senators and recalled his own experiences with school prayer in an attempt to bring the undecided to his side. One of them, Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, said he told Mr. Reagan that he had felt "very uncomfortable" as the only Jew in a Wichita, Kans., classroom where Christian prayers were said.

A failure of Mr. Reagan's lobbying, which he continued by telephone from Camp David over the weekend, might not mean that the issue is finished for the 1984 session. Should the out-loud prayer amendment lose, said Orrin G. Hatch, Utah Republican, "I think a legitimate argument could be made later in the session to offer a silent-prayer amendment."

Violence Follows Verdict in Miami

In the Miami that has no beaches, tourists or white residents to speak of, anger at perceived injustice has rarely seemed far from the surface in recent years. It flared violently when a Hispanic policeman shot and killed a young black man in 1982 and again last week, albeit fitfully, when, after a 57-day trial, an all-white jury took two hours to acquit the officer of manslaughter charges.

In the days after Luis Alvarez was found not guilty in the death of Nevel Johnson Jr., rock and bottle throwing and occasional looting led to the arrest of more than 500 people and the injury of at least two dozen. Most of those arrested were quickly released and there were no reports of serious injuries.

The relatively low level of violence seemed less a reflection of diminished black anger than of increased police ability to contain it. The police began planning and training for a rapid show of force after rioting in 1980, sparked by an all-white jury's acquittal of four police officers in the beating death of a black insurance salesman. That rioting left 18 people dead and \$100 million in property damage.

Last week, as before, the violence was concentrated in the predominantly black communities of Overton and Liberty City, which more than 1,000 policemen in highly mobile, 50-officer squads quickly occu-

pled and sealed off. Many residents expressed resentment at the show of force, but city officials credited it with containing the violence.

"With the exception of a few kids throwing rocks and bottles, things appear to be back to normal," said Howard Gary, the city manager.

However, resentment remained over the case of Mr. Nevel, whose death prosecutors said was due to Mr. Alvarez's negligence. The officer's lawyers said Mr. Alvarez fired in self defense when he thought the 20-year-old Mr. Nevel was reaching for a concealed gun.

"They talk about justice — what kind of justice do we have?" said one angry Miami, 26-year-old Roger Eberheart. "All of our black people are getting killed and none of them get convicted." Still, the case is not quite closed. United States Attorney Stanley Marcus said that since the criminal proceeding was over, his office would continue its investigation of whether Mr. Alvarez violated Mr. Nevel's civil rights.

California's Anticrime Wave

According to Government calculations, more than 210,000 fugitives — suspects charged with serious crimes, prison escapees and bail jumpers — are at large in the United States. Last week, officials said that an unprecedented roundup in California had resulted in the apprehension of more than 2,100 fugitives.

Law officers said the 10-week operation, which was directed by the United States Marshals Service and underwritten by Washington, involved detectives from local police departments who had been deputized as United States marshals and were thus able to make arrests beyond the boundaries of their usual jurisdictions. Altogether, 120 officers from 20 police departments and state agencies were involved in the sweep. Officials, who estimated that the cost to the Federal Government was \$1.7 million, said that the operation had snared 14 murderers, 10 others charged with murder, and 666 burglars and robbers.

Many of the arrests were said to have resulted from basic police work — checking at a fugitive's last known address and making followup inquiries. Sixty-five fugitives were lured out of hiding by a somewhat more unusual tactic: officers posing as employees of a delivery service claimed they were attempting to deliver an expensive parcel and promptly slapped handcuffs on those who stepped forward to sign for the package. Officials said similar joint operations would be undertaken elsewhere in the country. "We could work from now till the end of time and never get all the fugitives," said Howard Safir, assistant director for operations of the Marshals Service, "but by targeting the career criminal we can get some of the worst off the streets."

Opening Up The Range

The National Park Service keeps a close eye on the 68 million acres of public land under its jurisdiction. So when the Interior Department came up with new rules to give private ranchers responsibility for overseeing grazing lands within National Parks, the Park Service treated it like bureaucratic trespassing.

The rules, scheduled to go into effect this week, cover 20 stretches of range land, including areas in Canyonlands National Park and the Glen Canyon and Lake Mead National Recreation areas. At stake is supervision over such day-to-day matters as uses of water and the management of wildlife — functions now carried out by the Bureau of Land Management, which is also part of the Interior Department, and subject to the Park Service's rules.

Under the new "cooperation management agreements" with the Bureau of Land Management, the service contended, the ranchers granted grazing permits could build fences at will, deny water to wildlife in order to give more to cattle and operate feedlots. Last week, the service asked for a change in the rules specifying that it would continue to have jurisdiction over all the lands in the park system. Robert F. Burford, director of the Bureau of Land Management, said the Park Service's worries were ill-founded. Only ranchers with "a proven record of good management" will be offered the agreements, he said.

The new rules, drafted last summer under then Interior Secretary James G. Watt, reflect the Reagan Administration's effort to give the private sector more say over the use of Federal lands.

Environmental groups supported the Park Service. According to Laura Loomis of the National Parks and Conservation Association, the new rules would "relegate wildlife to second-class status" in the parks.

Michael Wright and Caroline Rand Herron

A Higher Percentage of Blacks Than Whites Turned Out Last Week



Lining up to vote last week in Birmingham, Ala.

The New South Warms To Northern Orthodoxies

By JOHN HERBERS

ATLANTA — The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., for all his faith in a liberalized South, might have found it hard to believe: Two Deep South states, Alabama and Georgia, saved the Presidential candidacy of Walter F. Mondale, a liberal Democrat whose policies once were condemned by the majority in the region. To top it all off, in last week's Democratic primaries, a greater percentage of blacks than whites turned out to vote.

Strange things do happen in Presidential primaries everywhere. Under a nominating system that many Americans believe to be deeply flawed, people frequently vote their whims rather than their reasoned preferences. Even so, Tuesday's voting told a great deal about the South and its politics in 1984.

It has been evident for some years that the South is no longer as distinct a region as it was during most of the nation's history. Florida, the fastest growing state east of the Mississippi River, has been sawed off and is now a teeming, diverse microcosm of the nation, more attuned to the Northeast and Middle West, from which much of its population came, than to the states it borders. And so Senator Gary Hart of Colorado, riding the newest wave of popularity when the

polls opened Tuesday morning, was able to sweep Florida just as he did New England, winning almost every age and interest group with his youthful appeal for "new ideas."

Alabama and Georgia, which remain more Southern in almost every respect, behaved quite differently. National trends and fashions frequently are late arriving in these two states, but once adopted remain longer.

In the 1960's Southern males were slow to wear long hair, but once acquired they kept it much longer into the 1970's than those in the North and West. Southern political leaders were late in embracing Federal aid for social programs, but now, by and large, the South is not as vocal as most of the nation in seeking decentralization of the national government. An old anathema has become the new orthodoxy.

Thus the voting Tuesday followed more traditional national patterns here than elsewhere. In Massachusetts, organized labor defected to Senator Hart and former Senator George S. McGovern. In the South, the majority of union members voted for Mr. Mondale, the choice of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Voting for old-fashioned liberals is still a relatively "new idea" in the Deep South.

Mr. Hart, perceived as more conservative than Mr. Mondale, carried most white suburbs and rural areas, particularly in Georgia, which has

seen a larger influx of people from other regions than has Alabama. But Mr. Hart did not take a single major city in Georgia. There, the kind of Federal assistance that Mr. Mondale and the Rev. Jesse Jackson promise remains popular; city residents, many of whom are black, split their vote between those two candidates.

It was significant, too, that Mr. Mondale carried Georgia by only four percentage points over Mr. Hart, but beat him by a much wider margin, 34 percent to 21 percent, in Alabama. Georgia, with its service economy and Atlanta as a major financial and distribution center, is relatively prosperous. Alabama, which has the largest industrial base in the South and remains depressed despite the national recovery, voted its pocket-book rather than the more idealistic goals promoted by Mr. Hart.

Participation Is the Key

Yet it is change in the South, however slow, as reflected in the voting, that may be more significant both for the general election in November and for the future.

President Reagan, who prevailed in the South over native son Jimmy Carter in 1980, remains popular throughout the region. But if blacks had turned out then in the numbers that they did Tuesday, the outcome might have been quite different.

Mississippi, for example, has had a close Presidential election the last two times around. The 1965 Voting Rights Act, which made it possible for blacks to exercise the franchise, has changed the tenor of Southern politics. Until Tuesday, however, black registration and turnout had been quite limited, and in most statewide races blacks and white liberals have been outnumbered by conservatives.

What propelled last week's turnout — about 45 percent of eligible blacks to less than 30 percent of whites — was both Mr. Jackson's candidacy and Mr. Reagan's unpopularity in the black community. And this was the case not only in the cities but also in rural areas, where blacks remain in large numbers. In two of Georgia's 10 Congressional districts, Mr. Jackson placed first.

And even though the total black vote was split between Mr. Jackson and Mr. Mondale, it was not without sophistication.

Just as many whites in Massachusetts voted for Mr. McGovern knowing that he could not win, many blacks said they turned out for Mr. Jackson to make a philosophical point beyond the outcome of the horse race — to signal an end to what is known here as "plantation politics," from which blacks had been excluded. Even so, black political leaders who supported Mr. Mondale for pragmatic reasons persuaded enough black voters of the virtue of that approach to allow the white Minnesotan to win the Alabama and Georgia primaries and remain in the race.

Had they not, Mr. Hart would have made a clean sweep of the primary states that voted last Tuesday. At the beginning of the year, Hamilton Jordan and other former Carter aides were warning the Democratic Party that it could not win the South or the election with a traditional northern liberal like Mr. Mondale.

That view may be correct. But last Tuesday's voting suggests that Mr. Mondale's chief troubles may lie elsewhere if Southern blacks continue to increase their share of the vote.

A Six-Month Moratorium on Oil Takeovers Is Under Consideration

Congress Studies the Urge to Merge

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY JR.

WASHINGTON — Many authorities regard the current flurry of corporate mergers — including the Standard Oil Company of California's \$13.2 billion bid for the Gulf Corporation — as part of a wave that began in the mid-1970's.

And like three previous waves — the drive for monopoly at the turn of the century, the 1920's efforts at market consolidation and the conglomerate phenomenon of the 1960's — this one has sparked debate about the role of mergers in American life and rumblings in Congress.

It has also led two members of the Reagan Cabinet to open disagreement, about the merits of a \$770 million merger between the LTV Corporation and Republic Steel. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige held the Justice Department decision last month opposing the deal to be "a world class mistake." Attorney General William French Smith defended the turndown, which in effect declared that the battered steel industry could not, while enjoying some protection from imports, argue that imports could keep prices from rising if LTV and Republic merged. It was widely thought, however, that a new merger agreement would be ultimately approved.

On Thursday the Senate Judiciary Committee began the latest round of Congressional inquiry, taking testimony on a measure that would put a six-month moratorium on mergers involving the 50 odd biggest oil companies. During this period a special panel would investigate such issues as whether big takeovers "consume" capital, raise interest rates, reduce exploration for oil or result in excessive industry concentration.

The chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Peter W. Rodino Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, said he would propose a bill aimed not at the oil industry but at "hostile" acquisitions in general. His measure would require that all takeover proposals be considered only by a company's outside, or nonmanagement, directors, who typically would have less financial interest in the outcome. The goal is to cut down on expensive legal and other maneuvering that accompanies unfriendly deals.

Although taking on some of the biggest corporations could be regarded as standard Democratic fare, the present flareup has attracted the interest of Republicans as well. One is Senator Warren B. Rudman of New Hampshire, one of three sponsors of the moratorium on oil deals.

"We're seeing a madhouse," he told his colleagues, with business leaders "starting to play Monopoly with real money." Others suggested that the tax law, which allows deductions of interest charged on borrowed money, might be contributing unduly to the merger trend.

Economic theory, of course, holds mergers in general to be a good thing as long as competition is not significantly reduced; they often lead to cost-reducing economies of scale. They serve, either in actuality or by threat, to pressure managers to make most efficient use of resources. They are an incentive to entrepreneurs who know that if they launch a company that becomes successful they will have the chance to sell out at a handsome profit.



But what, ask critics on Capitol Hill and elsewhere, about the side-effects?

The traditional argument, more social than economic, is that big mergers put too much power in too few hands. The Federal Trade Commission and other authorities, however, maintain that, appearances to the contrary, the United States economy has not become significantly more concentrated in recent decades.

A Capital Squeeze?

One of the critics' main themes in recent years has been that big mergers absorb billions of dollars of credit that might otherwise be put to "productive" use such as drilling for new oil reserves. Further, they say, this extra demand for money drives up interest rates and thus weakens the over-all economy.

Had the Socal-Gulf, Texaco-Getty and Mobil-Superior mergers occurred last year, argues Senator J. Bennett Johnston, a Louisiana Democrat and a sponsor of the moratorium, "they would have consumed almost 14 percent of all capital available for private purposes."

Many economists, however, regard this argument as little more than populist nonsense. The proceeds that Gulf stockholders, for example, get from Socal "would flow back into the money markets where they would be available to finance business," Citibank's senior economist, Leif H. Olsen, told the Senate committee. "No credit is withheld from other borrowers and the effects on interest rates, if any, are very small and short-lived and would arise only from the illusory expectations of market participants." Such economists, moreover, say this recycling process no more discourages the hunt for new oil than borrowing money to buy an existing home depletes the capital pool for building new homes.

It is not clear which, if any, of the curbs on mergers Congress will agree to use. It could be the oil moratorium, though this seems unlikely to pass in time to affect Socal-Gulf or Mobil-Superior. The White House, in any event, has threatened a veto. More likely to succeed, it seems, is a bar or limit on deductions for interest on merger-related loans, or perhaps some further move to restrict tax carryovers that often make money-losing companies attractive targets.



Miami police officers making arrest during disturbances last week.

The World

Senators Take Their Time on Salvador Aid

The Republican-controlled Senate last week gave the Reagan Administration an unwelcome indication of its concerns about military aid for El Salvador and the Nicaraguan rebels. The Administration again failed to push through military assistance in the form of an amendment attached to an unrelated humanitarian measure. The vehicle this time was a bill to send food to drought-stricken Africans. Senators of both parties gave priority to the food aid; the measures were cut apart, leaving in doubt the fate of requests for \$114 million of military aid.

President Reagan said El Salvador would be unable to conduct elections in safety next Sunday unless it gets help. "We know that Cuban-supported guerrillas plan to disrupt these elections," he said. However, the Salvadoran Chief of Staff, Col. Aldo Oreciforo Blandón, said the voting would take place "no matter what — even if the United States doesn't send more ammunition." Administration officials said they feared that Government forces would slow up and lose the initiative if weapons stocks were running low.

Spokesmen for the main Salvadoran guerrilla groups have said they will let the elections proceed. But a conservative member of the Constituent Assembly, Héctor Julio Flores, was murdered last week; a leftist splinter group, the Clara Elizabeth Ramírez Front, claimed responsibility. A second conservative politician — Tito Adalberto Rosa — was killed the next day.

An American photographer, John Hoagland of Newsweek magazine, was killed by a stray bullet as he watched Government troops and leftist guerrillas exchange fire north of the capital.

Iraq Tries Some Economic Muscle

With chances of military victory appearing uncertain, at least in the foreseeable future, Iraq tried to open an economic front last week in its war with Iran. It persuaded the Arab League to urge Iran's major trading partners — Japan and Western Europe — to stop the flow of goods and services to Teheran. In return, Iraq promised to make up for any Iranian oil they may lose.

The action, taken at a one-day session in Baghdad boycotted by Syria and Libya, which are backing Teheran, was regarded as an effort to bring Iran to the bargaining table and end the 42-month conflict. Still, the resolution was not as strong as Iraq and its chief backers, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, would have liked, and its effectiveness may be further limited by the discounts Iran is offering on its crude. Even as the Arab League met, officials in Washington estimated that up to 500,000 Iranian troops were massed at the border.

Last week's fighting was centered north of the port of Basra on an oil-producing island seized by Iran last month. Iraq claimed that thousands of Iranians had been killed and said it had gained a bridgehead; Iran dismissed the report as a "big lie" and renewed charges, denied in Baghdad, that Iraq had used outlawed chemical weapons. In Vienna, where some Iranian troops were sent for treatment, Austrian physicians said three soldiers subjected to mustard gas had died and three others were not expected to survive.

Church and State Jitters in Poland

In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church has privileges unheard of not only in the Soviet bloc but in any country that observes a strict separation of church and state. Last week, however, there were two reminders that the Communist Government has the upper hand.

Condemning "expansionist clericalism," the Polish authorities remained implacable in their demand for the removal of crucifixes in public-school classrooms. When teenage students staged a sit-in after crosses were taken down from an agricultural college in Miemie two weeks ago, riot squads closed the school. A statement by the ruling council of senior bishops warned that similar actions against the church in the past have "always led to social unrest." But the Polish primate, Józef Cardinal Glemp, avoided strong language in criticizing the Government; he said the crucifixes should be allowed as a symbol of nationalism. Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, speaking at a Party conference, also chose his words carefully. While not mentioning the confrontation over the crucifixes directly, he did attack those Catholics who try "to play politics in churches."

Cardinal Glemp came under attack later in the week for refusing to back down from his decision to trans-



Józef Cardinal Glemp in Warsaw last week.

fer a pro-Solidarity priest, the Rev. Mieczysław Nowak, from an industrial suburb of Warsaw to a rural parish. Many priests and parishioners believe the Cardinal bowed to pressure from the authorities.

Moscow's Line Is Still Busy

Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader, kept relations with Washington on hold last week. Meeting with Hans-Jochen Vogel, the West German opposition leader, Mr. Chernenko again said that arms control talks would have to wait until the United States removed "obstacles," namely the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, from Western Europe. Their talks with senior Soviet officials produced "not one recognizable point of change," concluded Egon Bahr, the Social Democratic disarmament spokesman.

The Russians may be marking time until after the American elections. Experts thought they saw an indication of the connection in Soviet thinking in the presence at the Chernenko-Vogel talk of the Kremlin's senior expert on the United States, Georgi A. Arbatov.

Mr. Vogel also said he understood (apparently from the Russians) that Ambassador Arthur A. Hartman and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko had discussed the possibility of a Chernenko meeting with President Reagan. Mr. Hartman met with the Foreign Minister last Sunday. But an American Embassy spokesman said: "The question of a summit did not come up."

And the United States formally suspended an agreement that allowed Soviet and American ambassadors to travel in special planes. The Russians withdrew these privileges after Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's plane was barred from New York in the aftermath of the Soviet downing of a Korean airliner last year.

Unesco's Critics Have Their Say

When the United States announced that it would pull out of Unesco by the end of 1984 unless the organization mended its ways, 23 other industrial countries took up the gauntlet. They presented a list of complaints and suggestions for change to Unesco last week.

Hoping that the West's money will speak louder than anti-Western rhetoric, the 24 nations want major contributors to Unesco's \$180 million annual budget to have more control over how the money is spent as well as other changes designed to make the 161-member organization less political.

Meanwhile, the State Department said it would support a Congressional investigation of allegations of mismanagement and corruption in Unesco. American officials said the organization's director general, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, was trying to delay the probe. Mr. M'Bow charged his critics with conducting a "veritable smear campaign" against him.

The United States is looking closely at the United Nations General Assembly as well. A State Department report released last week will give Congress a detailed look at the voting records of other member-nations. The Reagan Administration has said it will consider the votes in deciding how to distribute foreign aid. The report found, to no one's surprise, that in 1983 the vast majority of United Nations members voted against the United States five times more often than they voted with it.

Milt Freudenheim,
Richard Levine
and Henry Ginzler

Will the Lebanese Conference Lead to a Short-Lived Peace? Even in Lausanne, Talk May Be Cheap

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

LAUSANNE, Switzerland — Before attending each session of the Lebanese reconciliation conference, the Druse leader, Walid Jumblat, likes to look around his suite at the Beau Rivage Hotel, make sure everyone in his entourage is ready, and then say, "O.K., let's go down to the show."

Indeed, this gathering of Lebanese godfathers is political theater at its best. The table-thumping, shifting alliances, kisses on the cheek between men who have stabbed one another in the back for years all contribute to the spectacle. Whether it will produce something more lasting than entertainment, though, is far from assured.

Since the reconciliation talks began in Lausanne on Monday, various participants have repeated two predictions, each with equal conviction: First, that the meeting will end with some kind of agreement that all the communal leaders will be able to accept and pronounce as a great achievement; second, that six months from now, the agreement will probably not be worth the paper it is written on.

Their confidence that a final reconciliation document — including specific political reforms — will be put together is based on the role being played by the Syrians at this meeting. The Syrians want to prove to the other Arabs that they can succeed where Israel and the United States have failed. They are determined to demonstrate through an accord at Lausanne that those who choose the "Syrian option" and accept Damascus's leadership will be rewarded with peace and quiet.

"I think the Syrians believe that if they can succeed in bringing order to Lebanon, the world will look to them to be kingmakers for the whole region," a senior Shiite official said. "The Syrians have always wanted to have Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians under their wing. After this, they will be one-third there."

Syria's Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam, whom some of the Lebanese delegates refer to privately as the "high commissioner," has been meeting nonstop with the eight Lebanese factional leaders and President Amin Gemayel — in an effort to formulate a reconciliation document that will bring a measure of stability. But the Syrians have no illusions that they can solve the Lebanese riddle in one week of negotiations in Switzerland. For their purposes, they don't need to. All they need is agreement on enough changes to make for an extended cease-fire. Beyond that, the differences between the Lebanese factions are too deep, the pie they are fighting over is too shrunken and the men who are negotiating have, for the most part, too much interest in maintaining the status quo, to agree on anything more than an elaborate cease-fire.

Guarding Their Fiefdoms

As Mr. Jumblat told an Arab reporter, when asked whether the conference would produce an end to the crisis, "It is still early. It doesn't happen that way." He added, "There will be a temporary settlement, which may bring about a relatively long truce during which we might come to an understanding on the current issues."

But no one believes the expected Lausanne accord will last, precisely because it will be little more than a temporary truce that leaves the deeper issues unresolved. In particular, none of the old school politicians attending the meetings seem prepared to give the Shiite leader, Nabih Berri, his due. Mr. Berri now represents the largest community in Lebanon and one that is becoming more politically demanding by the day.

Unlike the other leaders, who represent clans, Mr. Berri leads a popular movement: Amal. He has made clear that he wants to see the complete secularization of the Lebanese system and the creation of what he calls the "foundations for a modern state." But it is exactly that kind of system that the other feudal warlords find threaten-

ing. It is because Lebanon is a medieval-style collection of fiefdoms that they can maintain their power and status, so they are doing their best to resist Mr. Berri and to retain the old system of political spoils divided on religious lines. But many analysts fear that if the moderate Mr. Berri is not satisfied, he will eventually be overtaken by more radical Shiite elements.

"Six months ago, they could have satisfied Berri with a large check; now they might be able to get by with giving him the head of the army, a big check and a statement of intent on secularization," said a senior diplomat participating in the talks. "But I think they are going to miss the opportunity, and the next time we won't have Berri to talk to but an ayatollah who won't ask. He will just take."

Another reason for long-term pessimism is that not all of the parties to the Lebanese conflict are represented in Lausanne. The new young breed of militia leaders are not staying in the suites at the Beau Rivage; they will not be party to anything decided, and they may upset it whenever they please. The senior leaders are constantly having to interrupt their meetings to telephone Beirut to try to quell some new outbreak of fighting; yesterday the fighting in the capital was heavy for a time. The kidnapping of an American Embassy political officer in Beirut, William Buckley, by unidentified gunmen last week was one more indication of how strong the untamed forces in the capital still are.

Syria's Mr. Khaddam, in his private talks with the Lebanese leaders, has warned each one that he will deal severely with any party that tries to upset the "pax Syriana." But Mr. Khaddam appears to have forgotten that threats of violence don't go very far in Lebanon.

"You can't scare the Lebanese anymore," observed a Christian former cabinet minister. "Whatever you threaten to do to them, they have been through it twice already. They aren't even afraid of the people they should be afraid of."



Special Features/Sipa Press/Press



United Press International

For the First Time in Years, a Ranking Soviet Leader Visits Damascus

Now It's Moscow That Needs Syria

By JUDITH MILLER

DAMASCUS, Syria — The hallmark of Soviet policy in the Middle East has been persistence rather than success.

Moscow's important friendships with Egypt and Somalia soured in the 1970's. Iraq, a longtime Soviet ally, has been buying vast quantities of weapons from the Russians and last week, senior Iraqi and Soviet officials met in Baghdad in accordance with their longstanding agreement on economic, scientific and technical cooperation. But Iraq's crippling war with Iran, with which Moscow also maintains relations, has forced Baghdad to turn also to moderate Arab countries and Western sources for arms.

Elsewhere in the Persian Gulf, the Soviet Union has diplomatic relations only with Yemen, Southern Yemen and Kuwait.

So when Syria, Moscow's main Middle Eastern ally, scored a major foreign policy victory in recent weeks at American expense, the Soviet Union was quick to remind its ally and the world of its support. Geidar A. Aliyev, a First Deputy Prime Minister and Politburo member, arrived in Damascus last Sunday, a few days after Lebanon formally canceled its American-sponsored troop withdrawal pact with Israel. He had been scheduled to visit Syria in January, but the trip was delayed by the death of Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader. Mr. Aliyev was the first Politburo member to visit Syria in four years.

After meeting with President Hafez al-Assad, Mr. Aliyev praised Syria and delivered a blistering attack on the United States. He said the cancellation of the Lebanon-Israel accord was an important setback for American efforts to destroy the gains of the Arab people. Washington was "driving humankind to the verge of thermonuclear conflict," he added, and the Reagan Ad-

ministration was seeking to create a springboard in the Middle East for "imperialist aggression against the freedom and independence of the Arab and other newly freed countries."

This was strong stuff. Western and Arab experts said Mr. Aliyev was trying to convince Syria that the forces of American imperialism were thriving and that Syria and like-minded Arabs still needed Soviet assistance and protection. Persuading Syria of the necessity of the relationship is one of the highest items on Moscow's agenda. Moscow has had reason to be concerned about its relationship with Damascus. President Assad, Syrian officials said, has not forgotten June 1982, when Israeli planes demolished Syria's Soviet-supplied air defenses and, in a single day of combat, destroyed almost 100 Syrian jet fighters, while Moscow stood by. Since then, the Russians have done their best to make amends. They quickly supplied far more sophisticated weapons, including SS-21 missiles — highly accurate surface-to-surface weapons that are said to have a range sufficient to reach Israeli cities. Western sources estimate that 5,000 to 6,000 Soviet military trainers and advisers are in Syria now.

Differences with the Russians

Yet the relationship remains uneasy and there are significant areas of disagreement. Few experts in the region regard Syria as a Soviet tool. Syria's expulsion of Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and its support for anti-Arafat Palestinian dissidents has distressed Moscow because it has pitted two Soviet allies against each other. Even before Mr. Aliyev's visit, Moscow was sending messages prodding Damascus to forge a rapprochement. But President Assad, who deeply dislikes and mistrusts Mr. Arafat, has been unwilling to oblige. Nor will Syria drop its support for Iran in

the Persian Gulf war. Moscow, despite its friendship with Iraq, has taken a more neutral position. Its warnings have been directed not at either belligerent but at the United States, which has indicated it would use military force if necessary to keep open the Gulf's shipping lanes.

But above and beyond its relations with Syria and other Arab states, the main thrust of Soviet policy is to establish coequal status with the United States in any Arab-Israeli peace process, said Edward P. Djerejian, a senior American diplomat in Amman. Moscow's claim has been weakened by its unwillingness to resume relations with Israel, however.

Syria has long opposed what it perceives as Washington's step-by-step, piecemeal diplomatic efforts to negotiate peace treaties between Israel and its Arab neighbors, one by one. Believing this process would eventually leave it isolated, with the Golan Heights still in Israel's hands, Syria has vowed to block such negotiations at all costs.

Syria has also insisted that the Soviet Union be included in comprehensive peace talks. Last week, King Hussein of Jordan, frustrated by what he sees as a one-sided American commitment to Israel, made a similar call to include the Soviet Union in future negotiations.

But the King cautioned that because of Moscow's alliance with Syria and Washington's with Israel, neither could claim impartiality. Noting that the two big powers have been unable to maintain a productive adversarial dialogue on arms control, the King expressed concern that increased Soviet and American involvement would lead to greater polarization of the region, in East-West terms.

Moscow and Washington used to argue that it was in both their interests to reduce the threat of a superpower confrontation in the Middle East, he said, but neither country says much about this objective any longer.

Guerrillas Left in the Lurch



Mozambican National Resistance guerrillas teaching new recruits how to load a rocket launcher.

United Press International

Neighborliness Suddenly Breaks Out in Southern Africa

By ALAN COWELL

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's special brand of gunboat diplomacy is paying off. Last month, it reached a de facto cease-fire agreement with Angola that imposes severe constraints on the insurgent South-West Africa People's Organization, Pretoria's principal black adversary in South-West Africa. And last week, Prime Minister P. W. Botha traveled in regal style to the no man's land along the Mozambique border to sign a treaty of "Non-Aggression and Good Neighborliness" with President Samora Machel, once the pivotal supporter of the most prominent organization fighting apartheid, the African National Congress. In Africa's colonial history, the importance of the signing might be compared with Cecil Rhodes's acceptance of the surrender of Lobengula, King of the Matabele, in 1888.

For each victory, there has been a loss, not only by South Africa's enemies, but also by the surrogate forces with which Pretoria has sought to debilitate opposition. The sudden friendliness with Mozambique has been purchased with the help of a South African promise to withdraw support for the anti-Government guerrillas who are challenging President Machel. In return, Pretoria has won a long-sought and major prize — Mozambique's abandonment of the military wing of the African National Congress. "We are laying the foundation for a definitive break in the cycle of violence," Mr. Machel said at the signing.

The rapprochement with Angola also raises questions and uncertainties about the future of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, led by Jonas Savimbi, which South Africa has long supported against the Marxist Angolan Government. But important distinctions are made between the two surrogates. South African officials acknowledge that they view the survival of the Mozambican rebels as less important than the future of Mr. Savimbi; the Angolan rebels, they argue, have some valid credentials while the pedigree of their Mozambican counterparts is more ambiguous.

The Mozambique National Resistance was formed in the mid-1970's by the intelligence services of what was then Rhodesia and is now Zimbabwe. Its original mandate was to destabilize the rear base from which the black guerrillas of Robert Mugabe fought white rule. In 1980, when Mr. Mugabe became Prime Minister, South Africa took over as controller of the Mozambican rebels, using them to challenge President Machel and, by implication, his support for the African National Congress.

According to Western diplomats familiar with Mozambique, President Machel's readiness now to sign the agreement with Pretoria reflects an implied acknowledgment that his close relationship with the Soviet Union has proved unproductive. Soviet arms supplies were not enough to prevent the Mozambican National Resistance from penetrating wide areas of the poverty-

stricken nation, and neither did the relationship with Moscow yield economic benefits to offset the widespread despair of Mozambique's peasantry. President Machel's truce with South Africa coincides with a wider opening to the West — if not a dilution of ideological aspiration — that is reflected in warmer ties with Portugal, the former colonial power, and the United States. He evidently hopes that Western assistance, and a reduction in rebel activities, will work where Soviet guns did not.

In Angola, more is at stake and the history is different. Mr. Savimbi's guerrillas were an acknowledged and accepted liberation movement in the war that preceded the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in 1975. He is widely held to have substantial ethnic support in southern Angola. With South African support he has managed to punch through to northern areas bordering pro-Western Zaire, which could also be used as a supply corridor if South African support evaporated.

Moreover, the Savimbi movement is part of the complex equation surrounding the current American-supported drive for independence in South-West Africa, or Namibia, which South Africa controls in defiance of the United Nations, under an expired mandate from the defunct League of Nations. South African officials make little secret of their regard for Mr. Savimbi and of their desire to see him assume a place in the Government in Luanda. But there, the story becomes more tangled.

Role of Cuban Troops

A principal demand, put forward by Washington is that independence for South-West Africa under a United Nations formula be accompanied by a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. But if the Cubans pull out, the Luanda Government will lose its shield against Mr. Savimbi. Western officials contend that if South Africa then stops backing Mr. Savimbi, the two sides will be forced to come to terms. The Angolan Government has shown little readiness for such a development, and so the whole process supposedly leading to South-West Africa's independence and Cuban withdrawal remains in severe doubt. Yesterday, Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos arrived in Havana for talks expected to deal with the troop issue. Last week, South Africa called for a peace conference of all the parties in South-West Africa and Angola. The proposal was rejected by Angola and the South-West Africa People's Organization.

The rejection reflected a concern common to both Mozambique and Angola. For them, the combination of South African-supported insurgency, disastrous effects of a precipitate decolonization process, economic mismanagement and natural calamity has led to battles for survival. Thus, compromise with internal enemies may not be as simple a solution as it seems. African politics rarely benefits the second-placed contender. With last week's agreement, President Machel was offered a chance to maintain his ascendancy. The Angolans faced a much riskier gamble with greater international stakes.

Mrs. Thatcher Will Press for a Better Deal This Week

The Common Market Copes With Its 'British Problem'

By R. W. APPLE JR.

LONDON — Britain has belonged to the European Economic Community for more than a decade now, and it has spent much of that time squabbling with its partners. No front-line British politician talks much anymore about pulling out (and the Labor party seems to be on the verge of renouncing its formal commitment to withdrawal), but few politicians have very much to say in favor of the Common Market as it now stands.

The British, their partners complain, have never developed much Community spirit. They often stand alone at ministerial meetings. Not by accident do the inhabitants of this island nation say, when leaving London for Paris or Rome, that they are on their way "to Europe." The Continent is still one thing, Britain quite another.

For many Britons, the Common Market is a kind of joke, a lesson in how the "Europeans" can foul things up. They tend to think of it in terms of confrontations over lamb, with French farmers trying to overturn trucks laden with British lamb, or of the Italian customs snafu that led to the paralyzing backups in France and West Germany this winter, not in terms of Jean Monnet's idealistic visions of modern Europe.

Seldom has the problem been more acute than it is this weekend, on the eve of a meeting in Brussels of the 10 heads of government. A British minister said pointedly last week that the two-day session was "one of the key moments in Common Market history." John Wyles, the Financial Times man in the Belgian capital, noted that gatherings of this sort were always called "crucial," but this time, he asserted, "the word may even understate the importance of the occasion."

The Brussels summit meeting may be the climax of a five-year effort by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to force through changes in the character of the Community — changes that would limit Britain's net contribution to the budget, limit spending, especially on agriculture, and shift the emphasis away from farm subsidies toward greater political and industrial cooperation.

Mrs. Thatcher has cajoled, stalled, denounced, threatened and even begged her colleagues to see things her way. If she does not get a satisfactory solution soon, she has suggested, she might withhold some of Britain's payments to the Common Market, which could in turn lead it to withhold payments due to Britain and imperil the entire structure. "I want an agreement on March 19 and am working hard for it," she said in a speech earlier this month. "But I don't want to paper over the cracks. I want to get rid of the cracks. I want to rebuild the foundations. That means no fudges, no compromises just to get us through the next few weeks, but realistic and lasting solutions to serious problems which have built up over a number of years."

Her hectoring tone has won her few friends in the Community, and even at home the defenders of European integration have been irked. Edward Heath, who as prime minister took Britain into the Common Market, urged last week that the Government stop trying to "hold

its partners to ransom." He denounced the bargaining tactics of Sir Geoffrey Howe, the foreign secretary, who, he said, talks to his counterparts as if they were Russians, not Community colleagues. But Mr. Heath's is a lonely voice. The British people seem to support Mrs. Thatcher's tough talk, not only because their outlook remains insular but also because they think that they are getting a raw deal.

Although she strenuously rejects the term, the question of rebates has come to be known throughout the Common Market countries as "the British problem" — a measure of the ill will she has generated. It arises from the fact that Britain, with one of the less robust economies of the 10, gets fewer benefits than most and thus ends up, with West Germany, as one of the Community's main financial supporters.

This time, Mrs. Thatcher is insisting upon a permanent solution — a ceiling on the size of the gap between payments and receipts for any one country, related to its ability to contribute. The West Germans and, to a degree, the Dutch are believed ready to side with her.

The same countries, with the somewhat equivocal but potentially crucial backing of the French, who currently hold the Common Market presidency, are pressing for tough restraints on Community spending. This will not be possible to achieve without a reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, which soaks up about two-thirds of revenues. The Community is spending 66 percent more this year than in 1980. Negotiations on these points have at last been given a certain urgency by the fact that the Common Market is about to run out of money. Revenues this year, from customs duties and agricultural levies and the 1 percent sales tax it imposes in member countries, will amount to roughly \$63 billion; almost all of it will be spent.

Community officials have proposed increasing the sales tax to 2 percent, but Mrs. Thatcher has refused even to discuss that until there is some action on her demands. The French and the Italians, in retaliation, are blocking the payment of the rebate she negotiated last year and of part of the rebate she negotiated the year before. An unexpected agreement last week to scale down subsidy payments for milk, which have led to the much-derided "butter mountain," has generated some optimism, even though the deal is not final. It is also widely suspected that French President François Mitterrand may have paved the way for progress in a burst of intense personal diplomacy. He has seen every Community leader at least once in recent weeks, and Mrs. Thatcher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany twice.

But the experience of the last summit, at Athens in December, which ended in abject failure, makes old Common Market bands very wary. The British have tried to signal their faith in the Community by agreeing since then to participate in such projects as the building of a fast-breeder nuclear reactor and a new Airbus plane. But their partners remain dubious about their willingness to make genuine compromises. "We still have mountains to climb," said a senior British official last week as he assembled his papers for the meeting.



French farmers guarding British truck after confiscating lamb it was carrying in western France in January.

Associated Press

Democracy May Be a Prerequisite to Reunification Talks

South Korea Takes Some of the Wraps Off Its Campuses

By CLYDE HABERMAN

SEOUL, South Korea — Since his military takeover of the South Korean Government four years ago, President Chun Doo Hwan has endured a civil uprising that his soldiers suppressed with considerable loss of life, financial scandals touching his wife's family, hundreds of student protests and an assassination bombing in Burma that killed some of his closest aides. Anyone who could survive all that might be reasonably expected to prevail through anything.

But now Mr. Chun is taking what some think is a big risk. He is gambling that he can give South Koreans a touch more freedom than they are used to under him, and that not only will he not regret the decision, but perhaps he will emerge stronger than before.

From now on, his Government announced, the police will be kept off college campuses and will not return, even if demonstrations erupt, unless school administrators say they cannot maintain control and ask for help.

Winning Either Way

Universities are bastions of political opposition here. The number of demonstrations has risen sharply in the last year and spring, which arrives this week, is a traditional season for action. Both supporters and opponents of Mr. Chun predict even larger protests this year.

In the past, the police broke up protests before they could build up steam. Under the new policy, it is theoretically possible that demonstrations will spill from the col-

lege campuses and into the streets, where order would be harder to maintain.

Few people think matters would be allowed to go so far. "We have enough strength to suppress the demonstrations," said Kang Kyung-shik, Mr. Chun's secretary general. "We are not afraid of the demonstrations. But it's time to give campuses more autonomy. We are changing the rules of the game."

If things work out well, Mr. Kang said, further loosening of the Government's strict limits on political expression might be possible. Some of that has already taken place in the last few weeks. For the second year in a row, a group of dissidents — 202 — were released from a ban on political activity; that leaves 99 still on the blacklist. Professors who were dismissed and students who were expelled for anti-Government activity have been allowed to return to school. The controlled press seems a trifle looser these days. None of these developments brought South Korea significantly closer to true democracy, but Government officials insist that a measured approach is the best they can do.

"If we try to run," Mr. Kang said, "we may then have to stop, or sit down, from exhaustion. We want to move step by step."

It is symptomatic of how distrusted Mr. Chun is in some circles that his "liberalization" was greeted with instant derision by many of those who presumably benefit. There is a sizable share of the population — how sizable is hard to determine — that will never forgive him for the violent way in which he seized power in 1980.

These dissidents say that the President stands to gain

no matter what happens on campuses. If the students are quiet, then his hands-off policy is vindicated, the argument goes. If it proves to be the "hot spring" that some foreign diplomats forecast, then the Government can crack down, perhaps with some popular backing.

The dissidents believe, although no one can prove it, that is exactly what Mr. Chun is hoping for. They point to the fact that even "liberalization" contains hitches. For example, the dismissed professors may come back — but not to their original campuses, where they are known and have support. Most of the professors are talking at this offer.

There are also reports of a new Government tactic of pressing some of the more stridently dissident students into military service.

To a significant degree, the domestic debate is shaped by South Korea's unusual foreign policy considerations. Chief among these is the fact that it has an implacable enemy, North Korea, only three minutes by air from this capital. President Chun's aides repeat what successive governments have been saying for years, that South Korean security requires restraints on individual liberty, unpleasant though that may be.

Opponents argue the opposite: North Korea rejects



President Chun Doo Hwan

South Korean proposals for talks aimed at reunifying the divided peninsula because it suspects the Seoul Government has little popular backing. "Democracy is going to be the source of meaningful dialogue," said Kim Young Sam, who is one of the more prominent opposition figures in South Korea. "There is a perceived conscious desire on the part of people to have democracy. This government is bound to come to an unhappy ending, just like previous ones. It cannot endure."

Still another view says that reunification of the peninsula should be the number one priority, and that arguments about what type of political system to adopt can wait.

In effect, those who hold this opinion see little difference between North and South that is worth fretting over, although this is probably a distinctly minority opinion here. A flurry of messages from both Koreas over the last two months has produced new speculation about the possibility of reunification talks being held, but it also is obvious that no change of consequence can be expected for a long time.

Domestic events are likely to move far more rapidly in coming weeks and with far less predictability, for both President Chun and his critics.

The Third World Limits Its Arsenal

The developing countries are slowing their rush to rearm, spelling leaner times for arms merchants.

By PAUL LEWIS

PARIS
THE third world's appetite for military hardware, for years a major factor on the order books of such arms makers as General Dynamics of the United States, Dassault-Breguet of France and BAC of Britain, appears to be diminishing after a decade of dramatic growth.

"The arms market has declined, and the trend is generally downward for everybody," said an American State Department official. "We're not likely to see many more monster sales of A-7s to Saudi Arabia," he said, referring to that country's \$8.5 billion purchase of American radar/command planes in 1981.

Marc Cauchie, the French Government's chief arms salesman, expressed the same views in a recent interview. "There is little demand right now, and everything connected with our activity is slowing down," he said.

If so, analysts agree, a vitally important export market for the high-technology industries of both the NATO countries and the Soviet bloc is in jeopardy. Beyond the huge revenues that are involved, they point out, the potential impact of such a loss would have to be measured in terms of the thousands of jobs that are directly dependent on arms exports.

A drop in arms sales also can mean a decline in political influence for those who sell weapons to the third world, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, which use arms exports as an element of foreign policy.

Moreover, many developing countries are starting their own domestic arms production, and are no longer as dependent on arms imports as in the past. Brazil and Israel, for example, are now exporting arms. In the long run, analysts say, this shift in production and supply could have a startling impact on the global balance of power as the third world becomes less captive to a marketplace dominated by the traditional arms suppliers — the United States, France, Britain, West Germany, Italy and the Soviet bloc.

FOR the last decade, the third world has filled its arsenals with the most sophisticated equipment available. Since 1975, according to the best estimates, the 116 nations loosely categorized as the third world have spent some \$236.8 billion, acquiring such military exotica as Mirage-2000 fighter-bombers from France, Boeing E-3C flying command posts from the United States, Chieftain tanks from Britain and SA-6 anti-aircraft missiles from the Soviet Union.

"The sales over the past few years have truly been on a huge scale," observed the American State Department official, who declined to be identified. "It has reached the point now where many of the buyers are having problems absorbing all their new hardware."

Analysts and government officials point out that few figures are as difficult to track with precision as the value of arms sales. Supplier nations, they point out, routinely cloak arms transfer data in other trade statistics out of security considerations. And even when disclosed, the data often are not uniformly comparable because of contract terms (a grant or a loan) and currency fluctuations.

Nonetheless, figures produced by two of the most credible institutions that track the international arm sales business — the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the United States Library of Congress — support the perception that such sales have leveled off after the decade of phenomenal growth.

The two agencies agree that the total volume of third world arms imports appears to have doubled, and perhaps tripled, during the 1970's. They also agree that about a third of this weaponry came from the Soviet bloc countries and most of the remainder from the West.

The most widely cited data, those of the Library of Congress as compiled by Richard F. Grimsen, the Congressional Research Service's chief arms analyst, show total arms sales agreements with the third world climbing in current dollars from \$19.7 billion in 1975 to a peak of \$45.6 billion in 1980. After a sharp drop in 1981, these purchase agreements rose again in 1982, the last year for which figures are available. But the rise was only to \$43.2 billion, below the 1980 level. According to the Congressional study, the Western countries' share of these total orders rose from \$15.3 billion in 1975 to \$29.3 billion in 1982.

In the latest unclassified edition of "World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers," meanwhile, the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency estimates that third world arms imports — actual weapons deliveries from both Western and Communist countries — quadrupled in current dollars between 1971 and 1979, to a peak of \$20.4 billion, from \$4.7 billion. According to the agency, the imports remained unchanged at that level in 1980, the last year covered in the survey.

The Stockholm Institute's calculations also show total arms deliveries to the third world rising steadily, from \$2.9 billion in 1970 to a peak of \$11.1 billion in 1978, in constant dollars. Thereafter, according to the institute's numbers, a decline set in, with total transfers dropping to around \$9 billion in both 1979 and 1980 and, thence, to the \$8 billion range.

To be sure, a disproportionate share of the total arms sales has been accounted for by a handful of cash-rich oil-producing nations in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia alone, for example, has committed to spend more than \$13 billion since 1981 on only two weapons systems. And much of the demand has been stimulated by the supplier countries themselves through price-cutting and the use of generous export credits and financing techniques.

But even with those props under the market, analysts and industry executives agree, the developing nations' rush to rearm has slowed noticeably. Despite the prospects for winning a few more landmark orders along the lines of Saudi Arabia's \$4.5 billion purchase last month of a complete anti-aircraft missile system from France, the outlook, they agree, is for leaner times ahead for most of the world's arms merchants.

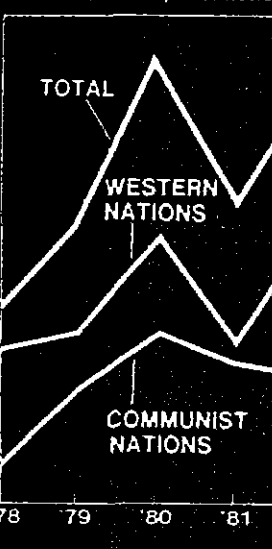
Aside from the statistical evidence, industry analysts and executives have been confronted by more concrete evidence that sales to their former export customers are slowing.

"For the first time, we are having orders canceled," Jean-Luc Laguard



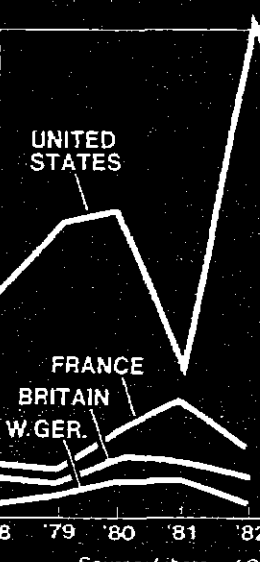
Arm Sales to The Third World Are Stalled . . .

Total annual arms sales by Western nations and Communist countries to the third world, in billions



Creating Problems For Arms Exporters In The West

Total annual arms sales by major industrial nations, in billions



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ère, head of Engins Matra, the French missile and defense equipment manufacturer, said in a recent speech. Predicting that Engins Matra's export sales this year would remain flat, at 4.3 billion francs, or about \$638 million, he observed: "This marketing time is essentially due to a slowing down in military spending by all the countries of the world."

And Henri Matre, president of Aérospatiale, the big French state-owned aerospace concern that produces the widely sought Exocet missile, predicted in a recent interview that 1984 will be another "very difficult year" for the company in both the military and the civilian fields.

Analysts point to a myriad of reasons for the overall weakening of demand: declining revenues for the Middle East oil producers, the biggest buyers of expensive arms packages in recent years; the completion by many countries of armament programs begun in the 1970's; the withdrawal from the market, because of changes of government, of such heavy buyers as Iran, and the now untenable debt load of most of the third world countries.

"The third world is short of funds, and the industrial countries cannot afford to be generous with credit," said Robert Elliott, who follows the international arms trade at the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies.

And many purchasing nations, explained Sir David Evans, military adviser to BAC, Britain's major manu-

facturer of military aircraft, are just oversold. "In parts of the world we do face market saturation," he observed in a recent interview.

Another important factor, analysts point out, is that many of the more advanced third world countries have developed arms industries of their own — and have become export competitors in the bargain.

Brazil, considered to have the developing world's biggest arms factory, is estimated to have surpassed \$1 billion in export sales in 1982. Last month, in return for access to United States high technology, it accepted export restrictions designed to stop its weapons from falling into Communist hands.

And Israel, which began developing a self-contained arms industry in the 1960's to cut its dependence on foreign suppliers, has since found that it needs export sales to support it. Government officials admitted to shipping \$1.2 billion worth of domestically produced weapons abroad in 1981, but European arms analysts believe the number to be seriously understated.

In the face of such rising competition in a no-growth market, several Western governments are now actively striving to bolster their arms sales to the third world. Britain, for example, which employs well over 100,000 workers in the arms industry, recently appointed a Government arms-export director to help raise the industry's sales.

In the United States, the Reagan Administration has explicitly reversed the Carter Administration's previous policy of soft-pedaling arms exports. In recent actions, the Administration ended a ban on embassies helping arms salesmen overseas and lifted ceilings on supplies to particular countries.

France's Socialist Government, realizing that sales mean jobs at home and foreign currency earnings, also has overcome earlier doubts about the morality of exporting arms to the third world. Recently, the French newspaper Le Monde published an internal Defense Ministry memorandum urging the largely state-controlled arms industry to step up its foreign sales efforts.

With about 10 percent of the international arms market, France is the world's third-largest arms exporter, behind the Soviet Union, with a 37 percent share, and the United States, with 34 percent. But largely because of lower oil revenues in the Arab world, its best military customers, France's overseas arms sales slumped last year to about \$3.5 billion from a record \$4.8 billion in 1982.

In West Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's right-wing Cabinet is debating whether to revise the country's traditional policy of not sending arms to troubled areas in order to sell Saudi Arabia its highly respected Leopard battle tank. Analysts point out that West German arms sales could fall sharply in the next few years as major contracts signed with Argentina and other Latin American states are fulfilled.

WHY countries export arms is a matter of some dispute. Andrew J. Pierre, on the staff of the Council on Foreign Relations, argues in his book, "The Global Politics of Arms Sales," that arms exports for the United States and the Soviet Union are as much a means of gaining political influence in the world as they are a source of wealth and jobs.

"Arms sales are foreign policy writ large," he contends.

If this is so, then the United States appears to be losing out both to the Soviet Union and to Western Europe. Thus, the Reagan Administration's new emphasis on arms exports may be as much an attempt to reassert American influence in the world as to aid the arms industry.

According to the Library of Congress's study, the Soviet Union over the last 10 years or so has gained a slight edge over the United States in total arms exports, although it sells to a smaller number of third world countries.

But what the Library of Congress study brings out particularly well is the way that Western Europe has built up its arms export business during the last decade, at the expense of the two superpowers. For instance, it shows that between 1975 and 1978 average annual arms exports to the third world by France, Britain, Germany and Italy combined equaled half the level of American exports. For the years 1979 to 1982, however, this figure rose to over 80 percent of the United States total.

The military advantage of such export sales for any industrial country is that they help pay for the huge cost of developing new weapons and thus enable it to go on producing modern equipment itself for its own forces.

A decline in export sales would raise the cost of weapons research and development. In a time of general austerity, experts note, these rising costs could blunt European defense efforts.

This, in turn, would likely give a new impetus to cooperative arms development projects between the European NATO members and encourage them to try to sell more weapons to each other and to the United States. Already, there are signs that a trend is developing in this direction.

France, for example, recently decided that state-controlled Avions Dassault-Breguet, the builder of the famed Mirage series of fighters, was incapable of building another modern fighter on its own. It has agreed to join forces with Britain, Germany, Italy and Spain in developing a new "Agile Combat Aircraft" for the 1990's.

Economy

The fourth multibillion-dollar oil merger in recent weeks was proposed by the Mobil Corporation, when it offered to pay \$5.7 billion for all shares of the Superior Oil Company. Before making the offer public, Mobil had secretly agreed to buy 22 percent of Superior from the founding Keck family and offered to pay \$45 a share for the remaining 78 percent. The merger would keep Mobil firmly ensconced as the nation's No. 2 oil concern, but more important, it would add one billion barrels of oil and oil equivalents to Mobil's reserves. The purchase also seemed calculated to avoid the kind of antitrust problems Mobil encountered earlier when it tried to acquire Marathon Oil and Cities Service. Superior has no refineries or gasoline stations.

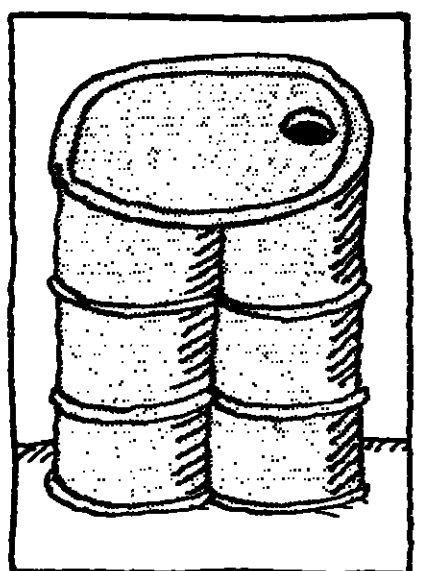
The proposed merger, nevertheless, stirred the political waters even more in Washington, touching off moves in Congress to halt temporarily big oil mergers while the consequences of such combinations could be studied. Three key senators — two Democrats and a Republican — proposed legislation that would place a moratorium on the purchase, retroactive to Feb. 28, of any company with oil reserves of 100 million barrels or more. Such a level would include the nation's 50 largest oil companies and could affect both Social's purchase of Gulf and Mobil's acquisition of Superior. Chances for passage seemed slim, however.

The economy continued to show strength where it is most needed — factory output and capital investment. Despite slower consumer spending in February (retail sales fell two-tenths of 1 percent), industrial production rose a robust 1.2 percent in the month, housing starts rose to their highest levels in six years and the operating rate in the nation's factories jumped nine-tenths of 1 percent, to 80.7 percent of capacity. Perhaps more important for future economic expansion, American business plans to spend an estimated \$34.6 billion on plant modernization and expansion this year, up 13.6 percent from 1983.

More good news appeared on the inflation front, as prices of manufactured goods ready for retail sale rose a modest four-tenths of 1 percent in February, down from a six-tenths of 1 percent rise in January. The increase in producer prices included the steepest jump in energy prices since 1979 and a slowing of food price increases.

Key statistic. One dynamic of a recovery is that manufacturers begin to build up their recession-depleted inventories. The current recovery has been different, however. Inventories, relative to sales, have remained at historic low levels, as seen by the widely followed ratio of inventories to sales, which dropped to a record low of 1.3 in January despite a four-tenths of 1 percent rise in inventories. Economists take this evidence of brisk sales as a good sign, noting that in the coming months manufacturers will have to rebuild inventory levels, which in turn will continue to add fuel to economic growth.

I.B.M. flexed its Personal Computer muscles again. The computer giant told analysts that it would ship three times as many PCs this year as in 1983 — about two million units. The company added it would spend \$500 million in 1984 on greater production capacity and research and development. I.B.M. said that while it cannot keep up with demand for the PC and PC-XT models (it is currently mak-



ing one every 15 seconds), production of its much-touted PCjr is in balance with demand — an indication that the computer is not selling as well as anticipated.

The debate over money brokers — those who package large loans to banks and often secure Federal insurance for most of the funds — erupted again. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board shut down the Empire Savings and Loan Association of Mesquite, Tex., claiming irresponsible lending activities brought on its insolvency and complaining that 85 percent of its deposits had come from money brokers. The action came at a time when both the bank board and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation were testifying before a House subcommittee on proposed F.D.I.C. rules that would curtail the use of brokered deposits by banks and thrifts.

The Agriculture Department said it had paid American banks \$431 million since May of last year to make good on agricultural loans the banks had made to Brazil, Rumania, Peru and Morocco, which had carried guarantees from the U.S. Government. Until the disclosure, Poland had been the only country reported to be in default.

President Reagan finally agreed to some cuts in military spending and arrived at a \$150 billion, three-year budget reduction pact with Republican leaders in Congress. One-third would come out of the military, one-third would come out of domestic spending and the remaining third would be higher taxes. Still not pleased, the Democrats scorned the efforts as too mild.

Reaction in the stock market was joyous as the Dow Jones industrial average popped 17 points on Friday to finish the week at 1,184.36, some 44.60 points ahead. The credit markets, however, were more somber, as interest rates rose and prices fell. The vigorous economy continued to feed fears that the Federal Reserve will have to let interest rates rise to keep growth and inflation under control. And the weekly Fed report on the basic money supply gave only temporary respite. M-1 fell \$1.4 billion in the most recent reporting week, a drop that kept the money supply within the Fed's growth targets.

Addenda. A.T.&T. will close down its cable manufacturing operations in Baltimore over the next 18 months, eliminating 3,500 jobs. The company also announced plans to extend a discount plan for long-distance calls nationwide, a move that would put more pressure on its rivals. . . . K Mart said it would buy Associated Host, a 77-store restaurant chain, for \$80 million in stock. . . . Boeing began talks with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, Kawasaki Heavy Industries, Fuji Heavy Industries and the Japan Aircraft Development Corporation for possible design and construction of an "advanced technology" commercial jet.

Nathaniel C. Nash

A PLANE THAT MAY NOT FLY

A single F-20 Tigershark fighter will roll off the Northrop Corporation's Hawthorne, Calif., assembly line in a few months, but it's a plane with no buyers. Political and economic winds have blown the supersonic aircraft program off course. Designed specifically for the third world, the latest F-20 prototype and its two predecessors were built and flown by Northrop without financial help from the Government. And now the Defense Department can't help bail out the ailing four-year-old program — which so far has cost Northrop \$625 million.

Northrop built the F-20 in response to the Carter Administration's call in the late 70's for development of an exportable aircraft — one designed for foreign buyers and not for the United States arsenal. Northrop expected to sell the Tigershark, an upscaled and easier-to-maintain version of its popular F-5 fighter series, to some of the 28 nations that had bought the F-5 over the years.

But the Reagan Administration dealt the F-20 its first big setback in 1982. In a political balancing act with Peking, it denied Taiwan permission to buy the F-20 or any advanced fighters. Taiwan had been expected to buy 160 Tigersharks.

Two years later, the company is still scrambling for orders for the \$11.6 million plane. Northrop

said it needs at least 300 orders to merit the start-up costs associated with production. Bahrain wants four Tigersharks, but that is not enough to get Northrop into gear. So far, Northrop counts 44 countries as potential customers — including Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and Morocco. Even the Pentagon has been mentioned as a likely customer. The Saudis, however, remain Northrop's greatest hope since they are the only ones who can afford a large enough order to get the production line rolling.

The F-20 is having trouble competing against General Dynamics' F-16 combat fighter, Turkey, Israel, Pakistan, Venezuela, South Korea and Egypt have placed orders for the F-16, which is also part of the inventory of the United States Air Force. The Air Force does not own a single F-20.

Northrop's F-18 fighter program, the stealth bomber and defense electronics are keeping the company's profits healthy despite the F-20's problems. But Northrop executives, who say that the Tigershark's development costs have been entirely written off during the past few years, still hope to get the new plane into production.

"It's an unprecedented situation," said a Northrop spokesman, John Thorn. "But we remain optimistic."

Linda Keslar

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 16, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Prev. Week	Net Chng
Gulf Co	16,465,200	72	+	1/4
AT&T	10,680,300	16 1/2	+	1/4
Supr Oil	8,463,300	39 1/2	+	1/4
IBM	6,944,100	113 1/2	+	5/8
Gen El	4,815,500	53 1/2	+	4
St Regis	4,705,100	39	-	1/4
Schlmb	3,958,500	50 1/2	+	3/4
Citicorp	3,944,900	34 1/2	-	1/4
Ford M	3,810,900	39 1/2	+	2 1/2
Mer Ly	3,621,200	26 1/2	+	1/4
Exxon	3,569,800	36	+	3/4
AMR Co	3,296,700	33 1/2	+	3/4
G Mot	3,269,300	68 1/2	+	2
A Exp	3,237,700	30 1/2	+	1 1/4
Coca Cl	3,218,300	54 1/2	+	2 1/2

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	1,394	603
Declines	579	1,413
Total Issues	2,220	2,219
New Highs	41	30
New Lows	119	154

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	461,896,040	5,198,424,618
Same Per. 1983	353,218,280	4,658,567,580

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Net Chng
New York Stock Exchange				

Index	107.8	103.7	107.3	+3.75
Transp	88.7	83.6	87.9	+4.61
Util	45.2	44.5	45.1	+0.45
Finance	90.0	88.5	89.7	+1.12
Composite	92.1	89.0	91.7	+2.79

Standard & Poor's

	181.5	174.1	180.2	+6.03
20 Transp	142.4	133.4	139.8	+6.34
40 Util	66.0	64.5	65.6	+0.96
40 Financial	17.1	16.8	17.0	+0.22
500 Stocks	160.4	154.3	159.2	+4.92

Dow Jones

30 Indust	1197.2	1136.5	1184.3	+44.80
20 Transp	533.2	496.3	518.2	+19.75
15 Util	128.4	125.1	127.6	+1.68
65 Comb	470.4	445.8	463.4	+15.93

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 16, 1984

Company	Sales	Last	Prev. Week	Net Chng
BAT	2,997,300	3 1/2	+	5/16
Wang	2,664,200	29	+	2 1/2
GM Co	779,600	15	+	1/4
TIE	715,000	20 1/2	+	2 1/2
Helzer	695,500	17	+	1/4
Delmed	681,200	10	+	1/4
HouOTR	652,600	8 1/2	-	1/4
Amhld	420,000	18 1/2	+	1
Echo S	386,400	8 1/2	-	1/4
RnchE	382,600	31 1/2	-	1/4

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	476	241
Declines	289	518
Total Issues	908	908
New Highs	15	14
New Lows	41	53

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)

	Last Week	Year To Date
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The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1983

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TOPPING, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor
JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager
LANCE R. PRIMIS, Sr. V.P., Advertising
J. A. RIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations
HOWARD BISHOP, V.P., Employee Relations
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, V.P., Circulation
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

Away From Voodooland

For the good of the country and the discomfort of Democrats, President Reagan has yielded and produced a second, less damaging Federal budget. He has agreed to cut back military spending and to accept a further raise in taxes, abandoning a resistance that threatened to throttle recovery both at home and abroad. If Mr. Reagan holds to the promise of his announcement in the White House Rose Garden Thursday, he has committed himself to a welcome and overdue change of course.

The announced retreat is but the first step away from voodoo economics. The promised deficit reduction, as officials concede, is not as great as advertised. And even if the President gets the Democrats to accept his new approach, huge deficits will still hang ominously over the economy.

Mr. Reagan says he's now agreed to reduce the Federal deficit by \$150 billion in the next three fiscal years. That sounds half again as large as the \$100 billion "down payment" he proposed in January. But it's actually only half the reduction it pretends to be. About \$75 billion worth of reductions were already assumed in his first budget, at the bottom of which stood an intolerable deficit.

Still, let no one sneeze at Mr. Reagan's apparent turnaround. The crucial point is that he and Congress are now working up a serious deficit-reducing agenda. The President has put his hitherto sacred defense build-up on the cutting table and he has accepted the idea of undoing more of his own madcap tax reduction.

So much for the cynical view that nothing serious could be done about spending and taxes in an election year. Give credit especially to Congress's tax committees, Republicans in the Senate and Democrats in the House. They pressed the President with different bills that would raise taxes by

about \$50 billion. Also credit Senators Pete Domenici and Mark Hatfield for proposing the essential deal that any cut of \$50 billion in civilian spending would have to be matched by the Pentagon. And credit that heroic White House pair who dared to fan public protest — chief economic adviser Martin Feldstein and budget director David Stockman.

Of course, the struggle is far from over. Even Senate Republicans want greater reductions in military outlays than the President has accepted. But their leaders have now promised to try to hold the line. House Democrats will find it hard to cut social programs and are sure to reopen the bargaining.

Action this year is critical because it will begin to persuade the financial markets that America recognizes the damage being done by its deficits. They threaten higher inflation and higher interest rates, a calamitous burden for a world still struggling with recession, and a steep obstacle for American recovery, too. Even if it holds, the Rose Garden accord will be only a down payment on saner policy.

Knock \$150 billion off the next three Federal budgets, the Administration says, and the 1987 deficit will be reduced to \$143 billion. Only \$143 billion! Ask elsewhere, and you get predictions that even these changes would barely hold the 1987 deficit below \$200 billion.

As both parties understood, Mr. Reagan was coming up for re-election with a startling vulnerability: He had run up the largest deficits in history and was creating more new debt than all previous Presidents combined. Though the damage is far from undone, this President seems finally to have accepted his responsibility. Good politics and good policy may be converging at last.

Take a Mideast Timeout

Sometimes even half-truths can be liberating. The half-truths uttered about the Middle East in Washington and Amman last week may finally free American diplomats from their obsessive need to broker a breakthrough. After Awacs and Lebanon and the Reagan Plan and the Strategic Relationship with Israel and yet another Reagan Initiative, the time has come for the Administration to get serious and do nothing.

It was a chastening week. On Tuesday, President Reagan outlined his newest exertions. He promised to give Israel nearly \$2.5 billion next year, plus new forms of military collaboration and significant trade concessions. In return, he asked Israel to recognize that Jordan is "crucial to the peace process" and therefore deserves new arms from America and a halt to West Bank settlements from Israel.

Translation: The President wanted Congress's permission to deliver the Stinger antiaircraft missiles and mobile strike force he had promised King Hussein. And while trying to lure Jordan into West Bank negotiations, he wanted no further agitation to make him move the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. By doing so much for Israel and its battered economy, he implied, wasn't he earning some room to soothe the pro-Arabic Arabs threatened by Syria and Iran?

The very next day, King Hussein told the President to go fly a kite. Lebanon, he said, proved again that American power can't be relied upon. . . . The Reagan Plan for a West Bank deal was a snare from the start. . . . America is Israel's ally, not an independent broker.

Translation: If you wouldn't stand up to Syria in Lebanon, don't expect me to. Don't bother sending

missiles and tanks if the price is my following Sadat to Jerusalem — and the heavens beyond. Let me know when you've decided to use your power to force concessions from Israel, to throw your weight on my side for a change.

And what's the rest of the truth? Most obviously, that Israel and the United States have failed to bring Lebanon into a pro-Western orbit with Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Syria and Israel will now establish unacknowledged spheres of defense in Lebanon. They can also be counted on, for competing reasons, to prevent any resolution in the West Bank. For King Hussein to walk into their formidable crossfire of ambitions would indeed be suicidal.

Israel has its own reasons for not negotiating seriously now. Its shaky government would collapse at the first hint of a West Bank compromise. Indeed, Prime Minister Shamir's main argument against the Labor Party in the coming election will be that no Arabs want to make peace.

King Hussein, in turn, prefers no-war, no-peace. In actual practice, the Israelis are sure to defend him, as they always have, against Syria. And despite their aggressive settlement of the West Bank, they're in no hurry to annex and absorb 800,000 more Arabs. As for the Palestinians, surely King Hussein would rather nourish their grievance against Israel than let their nationalism find a formal home in the West Bank and spread from there across the Jordan to threaten his throne.

Perhaps these realities will soon change. Perhaps the day will come when, instead of muddling and meddling, America can again serve as an honest broker between the parties directly concerned. When that day comes, they know where to call.

Letters

School Prayer vs. the Atheist Child's Civil Right

To the Editor:

The debate over the return of organized prayer to public schools has been disappointing for the silence of a group that ought to be among the most vocal: the atheists. Unfortunately, atheism is a political anathema, unjustly associated with Communism and immorality in the minds of most Americans, so that atheists hesitate to assert their rights for fear of public denunciation and scorn.

Proponents of school prayer claim that we all worship the same God, and ought to do so together in the classroom. Opponents object that no meaningful form of worship can be found that would satisfy everyone. While this objection is surely valid, the claim of atheists is far stronger.

Religious freedom includes the right to accept or reject any religious doctrine, including the existence of a God. To protect this freedom, we must not allow the state to encourage or discourage any particular religious belief. Any official sanction of organized prayer in public schools violates the religious freedom of atheists and must be prohibited. Of course, individual students may pray in school on their own time, but no figure of authority should encourage or discourage such prayer. Then no student's rights will be violated.

Some people argue that in a democracy we must respect the wishes of the majority; if the majority wants school prayer, so be it. But democracy means more than just majority rule, which can lead to oppression of minorities.

This has happened to blacks in America, Jews in Nazi Germany and various minorities in today's Iran.

To prevent such tyranny, the Constitution establishes strict limits on the application of majority rule. The basic civil rights of a minority must be respected, no matter how small.

America has a less-than-perfect record on protecting the civil rights of its minorities. We should strive for greater perfection, not less.

MARK GOODMAN
Princeton, N.J., March 10, 1984



Jerelle Kneiss

the group or how unpopular its opinions. And one of these rights is that of an atheist to his or her beliefs.

It is sad to see our country moving away from these principles. The Supreme Court has decided that government may spend tax money to display religious symbols in public places and to pay armed services chaplains. Now some people would see the state coerce atheist children (they do exist) to pray to a God in which they do not believe.

Church and State: A Benign Overlap

To the Editor:

Your March 5 editorial criticizing the Supreme Court decision permitting public nativity scenes is troubling in its own right. It promotes an absolutist approach to the church-and-state issue that is neither justified nor helpful.

Total absence of overlap in the government and religious sectors was not contemplated by the Founding Fathers. To mention a relatively minor point, they had no qualms about inscribing the word "God" on currency or on public buildings, even though this could offend atheists, agnostics or believers in multiple gods. Neither is total separation of church and state possible as a practical matter as government presence expands. For example, as alluded to in the editorial, the survival of religious bodies of many faiths could be jeopardized by a ruling that tax exemptions are unconstitutional government interference.

Also disturbing about the strong tone of the editorial is its lack of sensitivity to judicial responsibility.

Courts continually must interpret broad constitutional principles with reference to specific factual variations. Doctrinaire approaches undermine the viability of the Constitution by inhibiting its adaptability to conditions never envisioned 200 years ago.

Your analysis of the Supreme Court decision seems tainted by apprehension of the decision's extension to the school prayer context. That one decision may be precedent for another is certainly a legitimate concern. But fear of possible future abuse should not pre-empt the focus on the merits of today's decision.

Moreover, a reluctance to embrace questions of degree flouts the core of the concept of tolerance. It further polarizes and cements both sides of an already emotional issue. It discourages the thoughtful balancing of interests that is indispensable to the implementation of this country's ideals.

It can spur the very kind of unthinking momentum that you appropriately abhor.

EVELYN ELGIN
Darlen, Conn., March 8, 1984

The Kind of Judges President Reagan Will Not Appoint

To the Editor:

In a Feb. 23 Op-Ed article, Floyd Abrams suggests that this year's Presidential election can usefully be viewed as a referendum to determine who shall appoint the next generation of Supreme Court justices and other Federal judges — and that therefore the President should lose. I agree with Mr. Abrams's premise, but not with his conclusion.

The appointment of justices and judges is indeed one of the President's most important duties. In fulfilling this duty, Mr. Reagan has been guided by the philosophy of judicial restraint, which maintains that the Constitution is an expression of the sovereign people's political will, so that the judge — who is not himself accountable through ordinary democratic mechanisms — acts properly only when he ascertains that will by interpreting the text, context, history and structure of the Constitution and the laws.

The personal policy preferences of the individuals in the black robes have nothing to do with the meaning of the Constitution and have no place in judicial decisions.

The Administration holds this view on principle, not merely because it op-

poses many of the policy choices that courts have made in the name of the Constitution. Activism is activism, whether it strikes down abortion laws or wage-and-hour laws, as the Court did in the early days of this century.

The President opposes policy making by judges, whether their policies are consistent with his or not. Perhaps Mr. Abrams would be roused to oppose judicial activism were it yielding politically conservative results.

More specifically, Mr. Abrams accuses the President of planning to appoint judges who will overturn "long-settled constitutional doctrine" with which he agrees. But this attempt to shield liberal policies behind the Constitution "as it has been interpreted" is misguided.

In the first place, the fact that a constitutional doctrine is long settled does not make it correct or unalterable. The Court's pernicious "separate but equal" doctrine, which permitted the states to impose segregation, lasted from 1896 to 1954. But true friends of the 14th Amendment shed no tears when the Court finally found courage to enforce that amendment.

And even if the magic of passing

time could transform error into truth, most of the activist rulings that this Administration was elected to oppose are relatively recent.

The decisions on abortion and school prayer, as well as the Warren Court's holdings in the criminal law area, are all less than 25 years old — not long at all in constitutional or historical terms. They are in no sense "long settled": they have always been, and remain, controversial, and members of the Court itself have periodically indicated a willingness to move away from them.

The activist attempt to hide behind established tradition would not be persuasive even if its factual premises were correct. But they are false.

We elect Presidents and legislators to make policy. We appoint judges, for life, to interpret those policy choices. Mr. Abrams would like more judges who would participate in the policy-making process — provided they share his preferences. I think the people prefer to elect a President who believes that judges must remain faithful to their constitutional role.

WILLIAM FRENCH SMITH
Attorney General
Washington, March 15, 1984

Washington, March 15, 1984

Topics

Ripenings

Big Chillers

As Democrats battle on for the right to oppose President Reagan next November, a small peripheral fight has bubbled up over a name. What's the right term to describe young adults, children of the 60's who now range in age up to about 37, work in professional or white collar jobs and profess sophisticated social values?

It's all a bit vague and thus easy to mock them as "the brie-and-chablis set" or the Big Chill generation, after the movie about a reunion of student activists from the 60's.

But this wave, the first to grow up with television, is more than a figment of pop sociology. Students of advertising demographics know the market power wielded by its members. The Gary Hart campaign, particularly, looks to their political influence.

What's their name? The Y.P.'s, says one demographer, referring to the "young professional subset of the post-war baby boomers." To others, they're the Yuppies — an acronym for young urban professionals.

No, others insist vehemently, that's a corruption. The proper term for the group is young upwardly mobile professionals and so they should be called Yuppies.

Logical, maybe, but lumpy. Enter our vote for Yuppies, with its apt echo

of hippies and Yuppies, labels that some of them once embraced.

Local Protectionism

Why should it take more than a decade for the city to approve 200 parking spaces for a Lower East Side supermarket?

Fourteen years ago, the Two Bridges Settlement Housing Corporation started to push for a supermarket to serve the developing neighborhood. It found the Pathmark chain willing to provide 24-hour service and hire 200 local people if it got a permit for 200 customer parking spaces.

Nine years ago, the city's housing agency approved the proposal. Four years ago, the Planning Commission approved the store while studies of the parking problem continued. This January, the Environmental Quality Review Committee approved the parking and the supermarket opened.

Yet the Planning Commission, apparently worried about the reaction of other food stores to the new competition, has delayed action on the parking despite strong support by the local planning board. The delay already seems to have cost more than 80 jobs.

The Planning Commission is supposed to decide what's good for the city and its neighborhoods, not protect one group of merchants from another. The new supermarket would be good for the Lower East Side.

Museum America

If you're looking for a great wall, you go to China. If you're looking for a great cathedral, you go to France. If you're looking for a great pre-Christian ruin, you most likely go to Greece. For the 20th century, however, there's no place like home.

During the century's first 60 years, its artifacts seldom received the respect they deserved. Those who marveled at Europe's sidewalk cafés were blind to America's diners. Awe by the illumination of Paris, they were appalled by the neon of Las Vegas.

Now, though, thanks perhaps to the Pop Art of the 60's, we're living in a kind of museum. The latest addition to its collection is a White Castle hamburger stand in Minneapolis.

That city's Historic Preservation Commission said the facade should be preserved. After the land under it was sold, a construction company bought the building and will move it to another site for its office. "No one said White Castles are great architecture," the company's president said, "but they are a facet of American culture."

Golden Arches aren't great sculpture either, but they deserve a place in the museum. So does a SoJo's orange roof and a string of Burma Shave signs. Too bad it's too late for the man blowing smoke rings in Times Square.

Of CBS's Plans to Broadcast Conversations With Mr. Nixon

To the Editor:

John Corry's March 14 news analysis, "Issue of Journalism in Nixon Talks," raises an issue of journalism that goes beyond "Nixon talks": Why do newspapers accept as a fact of journalistic life that people should be paid for memoirs committed to paper but are shocked when people are paid for memoirs committed to tape?

Why is The Times uncomfortable about CBS News purchasing the rights to something former President Nixon said, and not uncomfortable about its own purchase of the rights to something Winston Churchill wrote?

What is so different about Mr. Nixon selling his memoirs to us and Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, selling hers to you? Or, for that matter, Mr. Nixon selling his memoirs to you? How could Corry fail to mention that The Times itself in 1976 bought the newspaper serialization rights to one of Mr. Nixon's memoirs? I don't recall any Times story questioning the propriety of that purchase.

If it is so important, as Mr. Corry contends, to have one's own reporters challenge people who make news, who from your paper challenged Nixon's recollection of events, or challenged Churchill or Svetlana? Who challenged Jacobo Timerman, who was given free rein in The Times last week to say anything he wanted to

about Argentina without one question from your Buenos Aires correspondent? I wonder what Corry would have said if we had done that.

CBS News would not have paid the Mayor of New York for his memoirs, especially since he is still in office, and certainly would not have let him have his say without one challenge from a reporter, but The Times did. Corry didn't mention that.

About the role of Frank Gannon, Nixon's associate who appears on the tape with him: he is not a newsman, and doesn't pretend to be. So the tape, we bought is not an interview but more a prodding of Nixon to get out of him some things he's never before said publicly, or quite so frankly.

We will make sure that our viewers know exactly what the tape is and what it is not, and that Gannon is not a reporter but someone close to Nixon who got him to say more than anyone else has up to now. Also, we are not restricted to any portion of the 98 hours of tape: we have access to all of it to prepare our hour and a half.

The only difference between what we are doing and what you do is that our viewers will see and hear the man helping Nixon recall people, places and events, while the people who did that for Churchill, Svetlana and Koch did not appear in your story.

Executive Producer, "60 Minutes"
New York, March 14, 1984



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Which Democratic Party?

By Bob Squier

MILLWOOD, Va. — Gary Hart has emerged as an unexpected contender for the Democratic nomination. But the issues that divide Mr. Hart and Walter F. Mondale should be no surprise to anyone; they are the most recent sign of a split that has existed for generations between those who believe in the Democratic Party as an institution and those who believe in it as a vehicle for change.

Franklin D. Roosevelt would have understood this campaign and so would John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and especially Hubert H. Humphrey, who tried to straddle these two Democratic parties and lost.

It is a struggle between the programmatic and the pragmatic, between those who would reassert the old values of understanding and compassion and an active Federal role to guarantee the general welfare, and those who see themselves not as custodians of a political philosophy but as problem-solvers.

One group yearns for the restoration of a Democratic White House so that we can repair the damage that President Reagan and a Republican Senate have inflicted upon all the old familiar Democratic programs. Others view the Reagan cuts as a blessing in disguise and want the party to rethink its solutions to old problems and begin to design fresh approaches to the new ones that will soon present themselves.

This debate goes well beyond the campaign for the Democratic nomination. In the House, young Democrats associated with Representative Gillis Long and Richard Gephardt are challenging the leadership of "Tip" O'Neill and majority leader Jim Wright. New members like Buddy MacKay of Florida have aligned themselves with the Hart argument and candidacy because they feel that if Mr. Hart wins there is hope for their side in Congress.

In the state capitals, Democratic governors like Bob Graham of Florida, Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Chuck Robb of Virginia find themselves far away from the abstractions of Washington and in the middle of problems that don't fit tidily into the left-right political spectrum. Some of these governors — among them James Hunt of North Carolina, Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, William W. Miller of Mississippi and John Bewley of Kentucky — have not signed on to Senate statements that make the men who are dazzled by "the greatest deliberative body in the world," with whose output they have had to deal. Problem-solvers, they tend to view the Senate — and Washington in general — as one of the problems to be solved.

Politics has always been a fitting laboratory for ideas. One of the things that can be decided in the nomination process (now that a "quick kill" strategy is no longer possible for Mr. Mondale or Mr. Hart) is which philosophy of government the party plans to espouse now that we have served our time in the political wilderness. When Mr. Mondale says this is a fight for the soul of the Democratic Party he is not being rhetorical. He understands the stakes in this election just as clearly as a Gary Hart who speaks of generational change.

For the institutional Democrat, the medium is the institution itself: constituency groups, party leaders, en-

dorsements. For the change-oriented, problem-solving Democrats, the party is merely a workshop. The institutional Democrat can find his place on the political spectrum, and where he stands speaks volumes about how he will approach the problems of society. The change-oriented Democrat views the spectrum as irrelevant. One problem for the institutional party has always been that it is by nature mired in the status quo. When the status quo was racism, civil rights became the job of change-oriented Democrats. When the status quo was Vietnam, getting us out fell to those outside the institution and even outside our party.

With all this mind, Mr. Mondale is trying to change the rules of the game. No more past versus future for him. He would have us decide, instead, on the issue of personality, and he is stressing compassion, warmth, steadiness and familiarity while characterizing Mr. Hart as cold and aloof. If he brings this off, he will have shifted the focus of attention from ideas to image. John Glenn spotted the vacuum in the Mondale campaign, but this was not enough to overcome his own image as an unemotional space celebrity. Now that Mr. Glenn has withdrawn, Mr. Mondale hopes to portray Mr. Hart in much the same terms — as the anonymous technician. The issue thus becomes Mr. Hart, not Mr. Hart's issues.

Yet if the voters are to be served well, this should be more than a contest between personalities. It should decide not only the nominee but also which Democratic Party will be offered to the country.

A smiling, self-confident Yasir Arafat defiantly insists that despite his forced ouster from Lebanon, his leadership of the faction-ridden Palestine Liberation Organization is as strong as ever.

"True, we've lost one of our military bases in Lebanon; but neither Beirut nor Tripoli is a Palestinian city. They're just way-stations in our struggle. But a year and a half after that stupid Israeli invasion, planned and supported completely by the U.S., what's the position of the Marines and of American prestige in Lebanon? Where's Begin? Where's Sharon? Who is in the corner now?"

"Last year, I was named vice chairman of the nonaligned movement in New Delhi. Last month, I was elected permanent vice chairman of the Islamic Conference in Rabat. I have just had successful talks with King Hussein [who stated last week that "Jordan and the Palestinians are one team"] on a new, strategic plan for this area. And now Egypt is back, with all its weight, to play its real role in the Arab world."

"I have achieved the most important political victory of all. I have the absolute support of the Palestinian masses. How do I know? You should see the reception I get in every refugee camp I visit."

Interviewed the other day in the palatial home of the P.L.O. representative in one of Tunis's fanciest suburbs, Mr. Arafat spoke in his staccato, heavily-accented English. Dressed nattily in khaki sweater and trousers, with a Russian-style brown fur cap substituting for his usual Arab headdress, the "Chairman" (as he is invariably referred to by his supporters) presented little of the scruffiness that usually comes through in his photos. Exceedingly small in stature, he has a balding head, darting eyes, a ready smile that fades as quickly as it appears, a beard that seems uncombed rather than unkempt.

Virtually ignoring both the clock and a group of P.L.O. officers (in civilian clothes) who had arrived for

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Europe On The Brink

By Flora Lewis

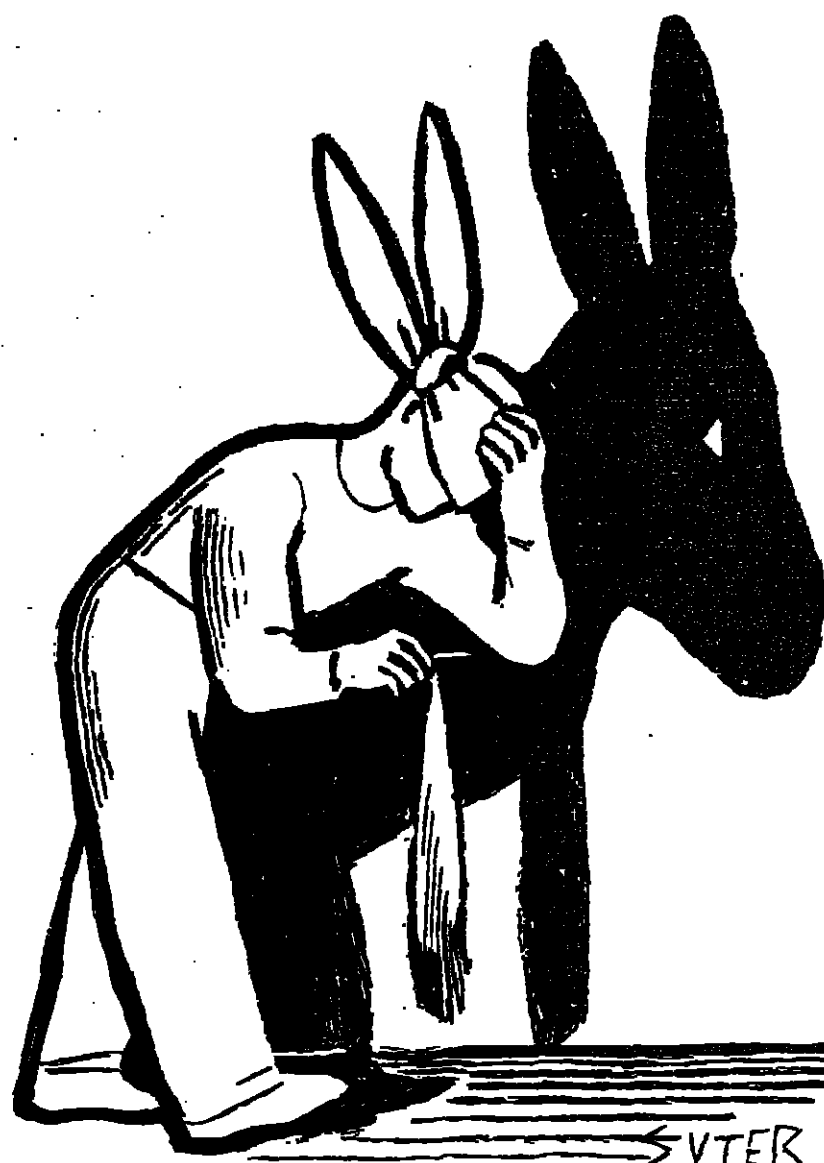
Latin America, which has long been there but wasn't noticed as a normal preoccupation until recently. Now it worries people here.

It doesn't help to revive European vigor to say, as Henry Kissinger did a decade ago, that it has only "regional, not global" concerns, or as he did recently, that half the American troops should be pulled out to force a greater European defense effort. That serves to deepen the depressed mood.

If it continues to sag Europe will be increasingly unable to play its part in the great Atlantic partnership. Some Americans say, so what?

The answer is that American prosperity, American security, also depend on a sturdy alliance. The Soviets, with plenty of problems of their own, may not be able to take over a fragmenting world. But a lonely America would no longer be a strong and vital America. The U.S. too would falter.

Yet huge European potential exists. It is ironic that those, chiefly Britain and the Soviets, who bet years ago that it could never begin to be fulfilled, admit that they were wrong. Now, they risk being right for the wrong reasons, not their own efforts at hindrance but because the sap was allowed to run out before the growth



Arafat's Card

By John B. Oakes

A midnight conference, Mr. Arafat held forth in more than three hours' conversation.

King Hussein agreed, he said, "in principle" at their recent meeting in Amman on a "confederal" type of government for Jordan and the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip — if and when they get these "occupied territories" out from Israeli control. In explanation of "confederal," Mr. Arafat cited the pre-World War I Austro-Hungarian monarchy, adding that he would be content for Hussein to be the "monarch" under such an arrangement — "not me." This might not be inconsistent with President Reagan's 1982 proposal for an "association" of the West Bank Palestinians with Jordan, but it is far beyond anything that the Israeli Government is now likely to accept.

By refusing to deal with the P.L.O., Mr. Arafat says, the Reagan Administration is "refusing to deal with the crux of the whole issue: the Palestinian problem." In his view, all the other issues — Lebanon, Syria, Iran, the Persian Gulf — are peripheral. The United States, he adds, is "neglecting reality" and its own principles in refusing to support Palestinian "self-determination."

When asked if he is committed to the destruction of Israel, Mr. Arafat replies with an evasion: "You're joking. How can we destroy a state that has 30 atomic bombs?" Then why not recognize Israel's right to exist? "I have to be careful. I'm not Sadat. He committed suicide. I have but one card — recognition — and I'm not so stupid as to throw it away unless I get something substantial in return. Give me a package deal."

"I've sent my signals to open a dialogue, but without response," Mr. Arafat claims. Anyway, "Shamir [Is-

rael's Prime Minister] says he is not ready to recognize the P.L.O. even if the P.L.O. recognizes Israel. Could Shamir say what he did without U.S. support?"

When reminded that there is plenty of space for displaced Palestinians to be settled in Syria and other Arab states, Mr. Arafat replies heatedly: "We will have no diaspora. We're Arabs, but we're also Palestinians. It's in Palestine that we must live."

The P.L.O. has active "military bases" scattered throughout the Arab world, he says — even in Syria, where Mr. Arafat asserts he still has 5,000 to 6,000 troops. "Syria has given me trouble," he says. "I've had trouble before with this regime and may have it again — but the Syrians are not my enemies." P.L.O. expenses, says Mr. Arafat, are met not only by contributions from many Arab countries, particularly the Saudis, but also by a "tithe" of 3 to 6 percent of the income of all Palestinians working in the Arab world abroad.

As for the future, "We will continue our struggle." With an air of resignation, he adds: "It's our destiny — and no one can escape his destiny."

WASHINGTON

Hart's Main Hope

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 17 — That flutter you hear these days is not only the approach of the vernal equinox (at 5:25 A.M. E.S.T. on March 20) but the sound of young university people beginning to wake up and shout for Gary Hart after a long political sleep.

Fritz Mondale can probably beat Mr. Hart at the factory gates of Michigan, Illinois and Ohio, but if Gary Hart can inspire and mobilize the university students — an idealistic but usually lazy nonvoting lot — even the Republicans may have to give him a serious look.

Summarizing the primary exhibition elections so far, some things are fairly clear. The voters obviously prefer candidates with a lot of hair: Ronald Reagan, Gary Hart, Walter Mondale and Jesse Jackson, who also has whiskers.

In the television days of this throw-away society, bald men are out. Senator Cranston of California had nothing on his skull except ideas, such as that the control of nuclear weapons was the most important question of the age. And John Glenn had nothing in his head except common sense, which on television, is not enough.

So now we have Gary Hart, and though he's still a bit of a mystery, he's on to something with his gleam of the future and his appeal to the young, and is probably not the sort Mr. Mondale or the Republicans should hand their hat to by mistake.

Gary Hart is beginning to talk about the big issues of the world instead of the personal issues of the Democratic nominating campaign. Mr. Mondale tried to draw him into an argument about voting records of the past, but he chose to define his own principles for dealing with the foreign policy problems of the future.

Indeed, it is clear that Mr. Hart means to make foreign policy the center of his attack on Ronald Reagan, and considering Mr. Reagan's record, the chances are that this may be a winning strategy.

Listen to what he said to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations the other day: He appealed for jobs and peace; for talks with the Soviet leaders, wherever they are, for reciprocity with Moscow; reliability with the Western allies, and restraint and reconciliation with the agonies of the hungry majority of the human race in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

"Restraint," he said in Chicago, "means sending troops only as a last resort, not the first. It means using force selectively, not automatically."

Some of the weakest of our Presidents, he added, "have been those who responded to disorder and rebellion in Central America and the Caribbean, not with diplomacy or regional action

or limited force, but simply by sending in the Marines — for example McKinley, Taft, Coolidge, Hoover and now Reagan."

You can argue with this version of history and present problems, but Gary Hart is proposing a policy that is very appealing to the young. His arguments are opposed all the way by the Reagan Administration, and mocked by The Wall Street Journal as the "new isolationism," but Mr. Hart may be on to something.

Maybe the voters think we've gone too far in trying to solve all the problems of the Middle East and Central America, and should pull back and concentrate, as Gary Hart suggests, on keeping the sea lanes open, and paying more attention to the Pacific, while asking the Europeans to do more in the defense of their own small peninsula of the Eurasian continent that stretches from the Sea of Japan to the North Sea.

This may be vaguely isolationist, but it may also be popular with the young, and Gary Hart expresses it very well as he did in Chicago. He is arguing that cooperation rather than confrontation with the Soviets and the allies is the best idea.

He is also saying that we are facing a world of totally different ideas and problems and need new ideas and new people to deal with them. He's a little vague about all this. It's like the advertising slogans on commercial breakfast food packages. You don't know what's inside but outside you're told that it's new and usually it sells, because everybody wants something different, especially the young.

Gary Hart is an interesting figure, partly because he is new and different, protesting against the old and familiar. He may never make it in the primaries against Walter Mondale in the big states, where the labor unions are fighting for their lives, but if the young, particularly in the universities, take this election seriously, and work for his appeal to "new ideas," even if they don't quite know what he means, they could make quite a difference.

Mr. Reagan and his allies here are quite aware of this threat by Mr. Hart, assuming he is nominated to run against them. They would prefer to run against Mr. Mondale, who might be a better President but a weaker candidate.

But Mr. Hart is appealing to the rising generations in a way Reagan, as the oldest President in the history of the republic, cannot possibly do. The question is whether the young will really rally to Gary Hart or simply complain about Mr. Reagan and Mr. Mondale and everything else and go out as usual and enjoy the spring.

THE Esquire PERSPECTIVE

A commentary on our times from the pages of Esquire magazine

"As Smokestack America Shrinks, Job Retraining Should Build Skills That Won't Later Become Obsolete"

IN THE APRIL ISSUE OF ESQUIRE, columnist Adam Smith tells readers of a job retraining program being offered to permanently laid-off steelworkers in Johnstown, Pa. The program is based on the theories of Carl Jung and is administered by a former monk, William Pilder, who holds a Ph.D. in educational theory. Pilder's approach is based on the underlying belief that the steelworkers — despite their image as tough, independent men — have actually been dependent on a nurturing environment, that is, the "mothering" influences of a strong union, the Bethlehem Steel Co., and the local Catholic church. Pilder believes that his task is to help the workers overcome their need for the "maternal," Pilder says.

"We're talking about a transformation of the psyche; individuals have to believe they can transform themselves in mid-life." In his Esquire column, Adam Smith observes that "we have always had, in this country, the idea that you should make something of yourself; now we have a generation of industrial workers who will be called on [as Smokestack America continues to shrink] to make something else of themselves. A century ago, facing change of such magnitude, they might have lit out for the Territory; now the Territory is another state of mind."

Indeed, as Smokestack America continues retrenching, there will be more and more workers from other industries joining those from the steel

plants, all faced with the hard, cold fact that their jobs have gone up in smoke. Maybe Pilder, with his unique views on retraining the psyche, is onto an approach that can help America with its suddenly and sadly unemployed. One thing is certain: America must learn from its current labor force problem; it would be a tragic mistake to replace obsolete skills with those that will, in time, become themselves obsolete.

Today, one is overwhelmed by the emphasis on computer training at the expense of general skills education. Is there not a danger that we will create another generation of displaced workers, not Smokestack Americans, but Computer Dependents? Will we find in the near future that a generation of workers trained only to operate marvelous machines has been displaced by newer machines?

There is currently a great cry throughout the land for better teachers, better training, and better educational discipline. These are good intentions. But it is imperative, as we grow into a computer-literate society, that we not forget that we live in times of change and that any task-specific job training will inevitably become outdated. Only an educational system that centers on the skill of learning itself, and the development of motivated, flexible minds, can produce a work force capable of adapting to the needs of an unknown future.

—PHILLIP MOFFITT, Editor-in-Chief

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Arts & Leisure

For Brahms at 151, The Celebrations Continue

By JAMES R. OESTREICH

One might have thought that Deutsche Grammophon, having amassed its 62-disk Brahms Edition last year honoring the composer's 150th birthday, would have had its fill. Clearly, one should not underestimate the venerable Hamburg label's devotion to its hometown hero. Included in that series were Herbert von Karajan's 1978 recordings of the symphonies and "Tragic" Overture and Leonard Bernstein's 1983 Double Concerto. Now DG sets up shop on the next block, offering Mr. Bernstein's symphonies, "Tragic" and "Academic Festival" Overtures, and "Haydn" Variations (2741 023, four disks, digital) and Mr. Karajan's Double Concerto — with yet another "Tragic" Overture (410 603-1, digital). And the market, however crowded already, is undeniably richer for having them.

In an essay accompanying his set, Mr. Bernstein calls Brahms's music "rich and warm, deep and satisfying," and that is just how he renders it, with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. These are ripe, luxuriant, quintessentially Romantic readings. Mr. Bernstein, of course, has a tendency to love things to death, yet here, for all his evident affection, he exhibits few cloying mannerisms. True, the famous melody of the Third Symphony's third movement does seem labored over, but Mr. Bernstein is hardly alone in this. Despite great flexibility in tempo (particularly in the First), these expansive readings are almost uniformly slower than the conductor's 1973 CBS recordings with the New York Philharmonic — fully three minutes slower in the Third's first movement. Some will surely find that "Allegro con brio" opening defi-

cient in vigor, and the "Allegro energico e passionato" finale of the Fourth lacking in energy (but not passion). For the most part, however, Mr. Bernstein's obvious commitment and the orchestra's splendid playing negate such criticism.

The Vienna Philharmonic has always taken a proprietary interest in Brahms's music, and could play much of it presentably without conductor (as, in small measure, it proved in its 1973 recording of the "Haydn" Variations, completed conductorless following Istvan Kertész's sudden death). Its playing here is simply magnificent. Only when Mr. Bernstein stretches tempos to the breaking point — especially in the first two movements of the Third — do the textures occasionally grow murky; otherwise the rhythmic backbone, though severely tested, remains sturdy. One can only imagine what the Vienna Philharmonic that premiered Brahms's Third in 1883 sounded like, but its counterpart of 100 years later, with its glorious tone, is an orchestra the composer might have conjured in his fondest dreams.

Given Mr. Bernstein's slow (and slower) tempos, his observance of all repeats, and his inclusion of all the standard "fillers," the DG set is very full indeed; half its sides run 30 minutes or longer. Happily, too, these recordings are available on single LP's and Compact Discs, so that the hesitant buyer can toe the waters elsewhere before plunging into the turbulent First or the warm bath of the Third. Rightly, the conductor and orchestra thought enough of their Second to feature it in their recent American tour, and the performance here, backed by a delightful "Academic Festival," is perhaps the best place to start.

Far more restrained and classically oriented, yet at least as attractive in its own right, is Mr. Karajan's Double Concerto, with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. As he likes

to do, Mr. Karajan presents youthful finds, both "old" and new: the German violinist Anne-Sophie Mutter, who has already established an active recording career, and the Brazilian cellist Antonio Meneses. Not only does each play beautifully, with refined tone and precise intonation, but the performances are exquisitely mated and balanced; this conductor would have it no other way. Mr. Karajan, who calls his own shots these days when it comes to recording, has shown uneven interest in Brahms's orchestral music; for all the attention he has lavished on certain works (herewith his fourth "Tragic" Overture, his third within six years), he has ignored others (the "Academic

Festival," the serenades). This is his first recorded Double Concerto, though — to judge from the performance — the prior neglect reflects no dearth of sympathy for the work. As taut and solid as the orchestral playing predictably is, it is also delectably warm and sensitive.

Not to be outdone in celebrating Brahms, though lacking DG's backlog, is a two-year-old Munich label, Orfeo (distributed by Harmonia Mundi U.S.A., P.O. Box 64503, Los Angeles, Calif. 90064). Among its recent flood of Brahms releases is a rendering of the symphonies by another experienced Brahmsian, Rafael Kubelík, whose mid-60's London set with the Vienna Philharmonic de-

parted the catalogue a few years ago. Now he leads the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra in very good, straightforward accounts (S 070834F, four disks, digital), which will hold few surprises for those who know the earlier versions. He, too, generally relaxes his pace here, though not invariably and never excessively. With no frills and no fillers, this can be recommended as a fine "standard" set of the symphonies — as Mr. Bernstein's cannot. While avoiding Mr. Bernstein's eccentricities, however, Mr. Kubelík also fails to achieve the lofty heights of the DG performances. Sign of the musical times: Mr. Kubelík, like Mr. Bernstein, observes all repeats. Following longstanding

tradition, both had previously omitted the lengthy first-movement reprises in the First and Second Symphonies. Clearly, in the wake of the recent Mahler/Bruckner overkill, there is change in the wind — a more leisurely attitude that can afford to give more economical composers their due as well — for these are seasoned, pragmatic conductors, not musicologists.

Sign of the economic times: Both symphony sets were taped live in concert. Both are well balanced — though the occasional prominence both give to the woodwinds works to the disadvantage of the Orfeo versions, exposing some raw tone — and remarkably free of audience noise.



For Leonard Bernstein, center, and Herbert von Karajan, above, explorations of the music of Brahms continue on new disks — "The market, however crowded already, is undeniably richer for having them."

Gesellschaft der Musik-Freunde Vienna/Otto Böhm (Brahms); Camera Press (Von Karajan); Roger Picard (Bernstein)

In Pop, Black and White Are Separate Worlds

By JOHN ROCKWELL

The sight of Michael Jackson shyly cradling his eight Grammy Awards like so many Christmas toys might seem to ally forever the suspicion that blacks aren't properly recompensed for their contributions to American popular music. Mr. Jackson's eight prizes were more by two than anybody had ever won at a Grammy ceremony. His latest album, "Thriller," may sell 35 million "units," a unit being a record, cassette or compact disk. When it reached 25 million a few weeks ago, it became the biggest-selling record of all time.

Yet while black music has been and remains the primary inspiration for the Anglo-American rock style, the vast majority of the most famous, most handsomely rewarded pop stars are white. The situation is far worse just below the superstar stratum on which Mr. Jackson so sweetly dwells. The pop-music business, and hence the listening habits of most of pop's audience, are more strictly segregated today than they were 10 or 20 years ago, when black music was a commonplace on top-10 sales charts and top-40 radio playlists. For a variety of reasons, all of them logical in a short-run business sense but disastrous in a long-run artistic, social and even financial sense, pop music today has become a deeply divided art form.

Ironically, pop music was the anthem of integration and the conscience of the country in the 60's. But now, the racial divisions in music run deeper than in such other popular arts as film, theater and television. Of these theatrical mediums, film and television especially tend to cast a careful representation of blacks and other minorities.

Such seeming tokenism, however well intended, sometimes looks self-conscious. But it reflects social reality in the schools and workplace, and it may well prove helpful for the future — creatively, by tapping the full, diverse range of the country, and socially, by providing images that make casual integration look completely natural not too many years hence.

How bad is the racial division in pop music today? That's easily ascertained by a comparative analysis of the Billboard top-10 mainstream pop LPs versus the magazine's "Black

LPs" chart, as of the March 17 issue. (Needless to say, the very existence of separate "black" charts is in itself a reflection of racial division.)

The main chart includes sales to blacks as well as whites; it counts everybody, but by numbers and economic advantage, whites obviously dominate. There are only two black artists in the mainstream top 10 — Mr. Jackson at No. 1 and Lionel Richie at No. 4. And except for Culture Club at No. 13, the other top seven mainstream LPs simply aren't on the black chart, which includes 75 entries.

It might also be remarked that the biggest black star on the mainstream chart, Mr. Jackson, and the biggest white star on the black chart, Boy George of Culture Club, are both visually ambiguous, floating serenely or self-amusedly above normal racial and sexual stereotypes, appealing to never-never-land teen-age fantasies of disembodied love.

Underlying both sides, however — perhaps the basic trend in pop music today — is the steady dissolution of the classically derived song form of Tin Pan Alley, rock and even the blues in favor of extended, rhythmically charged instrumental jams with chanted vocal refrains. This style has its roots in African music and 19th-century New Orleans communal drum sessions, and it lives on today in the most challenging black pop music.

But for white audiences, it lives on mainly in adulterated form. No. 10 on the mainstream chart, for instance, is Duran Duran, one of a number of fashionable British bands that purvey a slicked-up, techno-pop version of funk. Even an admired American art-rock band like Talking Heads, for all the originality of style it brings to this genre, is still recycling black funk for white ears.

What happened, to sour the reality of 60's communalism on the radio and in the record stores? Ultimately, of course, what happened was the reactive shift to more conservative life-styles and art forms in the country as a whole. But two specific developments within the pop-music business itself encouraged racial separation in the music. They were the fashion for "demographics" in the 70's and the video revolution of the 80's.

Demographics is the "science" whereby an advertiser, radio station programmer, magazine publisher or movie producer attempts to target his product to a specific audience, which will then presumably be more

receptive to one, unadulterated kind of artistic or advertising message. In radio, that meant the break-up of the old, multi-purpose top-40 rock programming into the multitude of special formats we have today — top 100, urban contemporary (i.e., black), adult contemporary, album-oriented rock, middle-of-the-road, etc.

The existence of separate sales charts in Billboard and other music trade publications is part of the same process — and there are many more charts than just these, slicing up the demographic pie. On this rationale, black music could be effectively banished to black stations, with white stations left free to play music by whites.

Then, in the 80's, came video, primarily in the form of Warner Communications' Music Television, or MTV, a cable outlet that plays mostly "rock," meaning white, video shorts. This de-facto segregation has occasioned vociferous protests from the rock press. In response, MTV officials have denied the charge, or argued that black music wasn't really rock but something else, or suggested that black videos weren't as good as white videos, or pointed to that old favorite, demographics, to justify their exclusivity.

It is possible to contend that all this represents no great harm. Music of all kinds is available on radio today, perhaps more than ever, with both AM and FM and the rise of National Public Radio and lively college stations. And what's so wrong, one might ask, with young people seeking out role models of their own kind? Certainly black music is not going unheard by white musicians, since it still forms the basis of most white bands' styles to this day.

The trouble is, only the professionals and the aficionados can be expected to ferret out those influences directly. The vast majority of the populace sinks back in upon itself, lazily content with its own stale traditions and only vaguely aware of more vital, unfamiliar, challenging music just a few notches away on the dial. This applies to blacks as well, who may be missing out on exposure to challenging forms of white music they now don't hear often enough. Black and white music can overlap indistinguishably. But they have divergent stylistic tendencies, and those extremes can grow flaccid or eccentric when they aren't pollinated by the other — when audiences aren't regularly, self-consciously exposed to styles other than their own.

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Gift from Salonika

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH/Jerusalem Post Reporter

IN KEEPING with its past glory, the Jewish community of Salonika has presented the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with \$2.5 million to establish a Hellenic House for the furtherance of classical Greek studies.

The funds represent income from substantial pre-World War II communal properties, whose ownership has developed upon the small but active communal organization that survived the Holocaust. Early this century Salonika's 80,000 Jews constituted half the city's population. Today there are 1,100 Jews in a metropolis of one million. There were 50 synagogues in Salonika before the war, whose names — Lisbon, Aragon, Satalan, Italia — often reflected the origin of its worshippers. There were 14 Jewish schools, four Jewish banks, 35 welfare organizations, 25 clubs and associations and 35 properties belonging to the community.

Some 56,000 Jews lived in Salonika on the eve of the war — a quarter of the then population, but enjoying a prominence far beyond their numbers. There were only some 5,000 Jews living elsewhere in Greece. The Germans arrived in Salonika in 1941 and the Jews were immediately concentrated in a ghetto. Some had managed to get away to Athens or to villages in the countryside, but there were still some 45,000 when the Germans began their deportations to concentration camps in 1943. Well over 90 per cent were killed before the war ended.

The present head of the community, businessman Leon Benmayor, was one of the camp survivors who returned. Joining in the reestablishment of the community were Jews who had escaped from Salonika before the deportations, as well as some Jews from elsewhere in Greece. The 6,000 to 8,000 who returned have been reduced by an outflow to Israel, the U.S. and Athens, whose Jewish community today, numbering 3,500, is larger than Salonika's.

DESPITE THE decline in numbers, there is no feeling that the community is in danger of disappearing says Benmayor. It had built a new synagogue to supplement the old

synagogue that survived the Nazi depredations — the old synagogue being used on ceremonial occasions. There is a community centre and a home for the elderly with 70 places only half occupied. The community has its own welfare programme for the elderly with no children to support them and even offers assistance to the needy in the Athenian Jewish community. The community's children up to the sixth grade are educated in a Jewish elementary school.

The community has its own rabbi while a ritual slaughterer arrives once a week from Athens. A *shofar* for circumcisions arrives as needed from the town of Larissa. Unfortunately, he is not needed very often. "Most of our community is young, but there is a very low birth rate," says Benmayor. "Only one or two children per family." There is also considerable intermarriage, particularly since the passage of a Greek law permitting civil marriages. There were three such marriages last year involving young men from the community and Christian girls and two Jewish marriages, according to Benmayor.

Almost every Salonika family has relatives in Israel, many from among the families of the several hundred stevedores and seamen who settled in Haifa following the 1933 visit to Salonika by Labour leader Abba Koushy. There are today some 30,000 Salonika Jews or their descendants in Israel. Among them are prominent names like Recanati (Leon Recanati founded Israel Discount Bank) and Benvenisti. Today's Salonika Jews visit Israel frequently, and many of their children study at universities here.

The Salonika community is one of the oldest in Europe, perhaps dating from the settlement of Alexandrian Jews who crossed the Mediterranean in 140 B.C.E. The New Testament tells of Paul preaching for three consecutive Sabbaths in the Salonika synagogue and being forced to leave the town.

The large-scale settlement of Jews from Spain and Portugal after 1492 established a new demographic texture in the Salonika community and Ladino would remain a principle tongue

down to the Second World War. The city became a centre for study of the tora and kabbala and was rocked in the 17th century by the messianic movement of Shabtai Zvi who preached in Salonika.

At the beginning of this century, Jews were so prominent in principal sectors, from stevedoring to the free professions, that public life ground to a standstill on Saturdays.

In 1912, Salonika became part of Greece after having been part of the Ottoman Empire from 1830. Many Jews left following a fire that destroyed a large part of the town in 1917. Further emigration followed the enactment of a law obliging the Jews, along with other inhabitants, to refrain from working on Sundays. Election riots with anti-Semitic overtones in the early 1930s led to another wave of emigration to Palestine, but the Jewish community retained its prominence until the Second World War. The Holocaust destroyed that prominence but Salonika's heritage has survived in its own diaspora and in the community that reestablished itself in the ashes.

WHAT DOES Gary Hart stand for, Israelis want to know. The 47-year-old senator's success in early primaries and caucuses surprised most Israeli observers of American politics. This was in part due to sentimental support for former vice president Walter Mondale. But most American pollsters and political leaders failed to predict the sudden reversal of Mondale's fortunes.

With endorsements from most major Democratic party officials and unprecedented support from the American Federation of Labour, amounting to more than \$20 million, Mondale won the Iowa caucuses handily. At the same time, Mondale's major challenger, Senator John Glenn, of Ohio, placed sixth, while Hart came in second.

The stage was then set for a two-way contest in the New Hampshire primary. While Mondale seemed to take victory for granted, Hart concentrated most of his resources in persuading the younger, more independent Democrats that he was the only viable alternative to Mondale and the only candidate capable of beating Reagan. Hart's victory in New Hampshire has been called one of the most astonishing in recent American history. Victories in Maine, Vermont and Wyoming quickly followed.

On "Super Tuesday" (March 13), with much fewer financial resources

Hart of the matter

By FRANKLIN J. HAVLICEK/Special to The Jerusalem Post

and little labour or party support, Hart trounced the supposedly unbeatable Mondale in Massachusetts, Florida, Rhode Island, Oklahoma and Nevada. Georgia and the state of Washington were virtual ties; and Mondale, one of the most liberal of Democrats, had a clear win in only the most conservative of states, Alabama.

THE CONTEST for the Democratic nomination is now a two-way race. John Glenn has dropped out of the race, and Jesse Jackson has not won a single primary. An understanding of what Gary Hart stands for — in general terms and with respect to Israel — requires a brief look back to the crucial presidential elections of 1960 and 1968.

Like many younger Americans, Gary Hart was first drawn into politics by the 1960 campaign of John Kennedy, whom Hart supporters and opponents alike say he resembles. John Kennedy, too, came from outside the Democratic Party establishment. JFK provided the party with vigorous young leadership and the promise of

defeating the candidate, then vice president, Richard Nixon. In 1968, Hart supported Robert Kennedy, rather than the candidate of the party's leaders and Walter Mondale's mentor, Hubert Humphrey. When Humphrey again sought the nomination in 1972, Hart was George McGovern's campaign manager.

It is just this disjunction that makes the choice between Hart and Mondale understandable and significant. While Mondale has the support of most senior Democrats and of the leaders of the Democrats' major interest groups, in particular organized labour, Hart is drawing broad support from rank-and-file party and union members. His strongest support comes from those who feel their interests are not effectively represented by the Democrats any more than by the Republicans.

This diverse constituency includes newly registered women voters and supporters of arms control, as well as the growing number of independent voters who tend to be younger and better educated. Hart has steadfastly avoided

doctrinaire liberalism during his eight years in the Senate. He offers both a fresh face and the opportunity to pursue a search for "new ideas."

Just what are the "new ideas" he talks about? On the campaign trail, he has called for government policies to encourage the development of new technology industries. He has opposed the protective legislation sought by the U.S. auto industry and auto workers to limit foreign competition, which Mondale has supported. Hart has emphasized educational and retraining programmes, as opposed to Mondale's support for the "industrial policy" of organized labour. In foreign affairs, Hart has advocated less costly, more mobile conventional military forces and, in contrast to Mondale, a nuclear weapons "build-down."

As a leading member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Hart has also used his position to support aid to Israel and to oppose the sale of sophisticated weapons, such as AWACS and F-15 fighters, to Saudi Arabia and Jordan. He speaks of a "moral and strategic commitment to Israel," and Israeli diplomats acknowledge that he has a consistent record of congressional support.

The writer, an attorney, is adjunct professor of international and public affairs at Columbia University.

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GUITAR RECITAL — Yehuda Schreier (Luthern Church, Old City of Jerusalem, March 15). Dowland: Fantasy No. 7; Bach: Suite No. 1 (for Lute); Debussy: English Suite; Villa-Lobos: Prelude No. 10; Stravinsky: a theme by Mozart, opus 9; Paganini: Caprice No. 1.

A GUITAR recital without the distorting effects of electronic amplification can only be effective in a hall with good acoustic qualities and an intimate atmosphere. This church refectory provides both, and the heating was a pleasure on a chilly Jerusalem night. And with Yehuda Schreier playing so beautifully from beginning to end, what more can one ask of life?

The guitarist has a most sympathetic stage appearance, with his quiet demeanour and seemingly relaxed attitude, charming his audience to listen with open hearts. The music chosen, a precious fantasy by John Dowland and the second suite for lute by Bach (both transcribed by Schreier), created a mood of peaceful contemplative enjoyment.

Duarte (born in 1919) looked back to his English roots in a folkloric suite, and Villa-Lobos intertwined Brazilian folk elements (as all his writing) in his original and interesting Prelude No. 1. Fernando Sor's "Variations" brought us to the beginning of the 19th century in an example of classical entertainment.

Schreier's technique is so secure that it leaves him free to attend to beautiful, dynamic shadings and sonorities of many different timbres. His sense of timing is excellent, and there is never a static moment in his presentations. A completely satisfying evening of beautiful music in a beautiful performance.

YOUTH CONCERT — Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, conductor and commentator: Arieh Vardi (Jerusalem Theatre, March 15). "Mediterranean Tour" music by Karel Salomon, Vivaldi, Gipsy Blues, Lalo, Ben-Haim, Manuel De Falla. Sponsored by the Adolf and Edith Eber Foundation.

THIS Youth Concert was even better than the last. Arieh Vardi, at his educational best, kept his introductory remarks at the level of understanding of his youthful listeners. His emphasis on the links between eastern and western cultures around the Mediterranean Sea produced some eye-opening examples from Karel Salomon (Greek-Israeli), Lalo (Spanish-Oriental) and others.

Ben-Haim adapts outright a Yemenite song in his piece.

It seemed that no expense or effort was spared for this concert. We had a young guitarist, Lior Yekutieli, for the Vivaldi concerto (unfortunately slightly overemphasized by the microphone). The choir representing Jerusalem's Boyer and Denmark Schools was charming in the excerpt from Bizet's *Carmen*, and the violinist, Shira Rabin, was very effective in the third movement of Lalo's *Rhapsodie Espagnole*. She is most promising.

Arieh Vardi talked persuasively, in a clear and convincing presentation. His conducting achieved pleasant results from the Jerusalem Symphony, as his lively direction and visible motivation evoked good cooperation from everyone. At the concert's end, pleasure and enthusiasm were expressed so heartily that the children's chorus from *Carmen* had to be repeated as an encore, a quite unusual occurrence in a Youth Concert. Kudos for Vardi and his collaborators.

GOLDA MEIR

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New ad agency to groom local firms for U.S. market

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — "If you want to sell your products in the U.S. market, you have to think like an American."

This is how David Sable, 30, an American who settled here five years ago after working for five years with a major U.S. advertising firm, sees the situation. Sable joined Raphael Malinovsky, 36, an Israeli who spent 12 years working in the U.S., some time ago to set up Mimsar-Ariely, which is the only Israeli company devoted exclusively to placing advertisements in the U.S. and England. Mimsar-Ariely is jointly owned by these two men and by Ariely Advertising.

Sable points out that the "American concept" is to make a thorough study of the business in question and to draw up plans for a long-range advertising campaign. A few of the new firm's customers are: A.E.L., Electronic Corporation of Israel, and Fibronics, as well as Bank Leumi and the Dan Hotel chain. "Sometimes, the best strategy is not to place ads in the media, but to engage in direct-mail advertising."

At present, Sable says, all too many Israeli companies see advertising as of minor importance, and place an occasional ad "when the mood strikes them." Of course, the Israeli companies can engage an American or an English company. "But all sorts of broken telephone problems are likely to crop up. The Americans (or English) do not understand the problems of an Israeli company — all of a sudden the key

man is called away for a month of reserve duty leaving no replacement. And of course, the Israelis don't understand the foreign markets."

Moreover, Mimsar-Ariely does all the creative work writing the ads, layout, printing in Israel, working closely with the company it represents.

Another major problem which Mimsar-Ariely is trying to solve is trying to sell a "corporate image" abroad. The thrust here is not only to sell the company's products, but mainly to "sell the company" as a potential investment.

"The shares of Israeli companies are traded Over-the-Counter in New York. Their prices are generally listed only once or twice a week in the major papers. But an American who buys a stock in an Israeli company likes to read the quotation daily. And if there is a strike in the plant, or a riot in a city, or a battle in Lebanon, he wants to know how his Israeli stock is reacting."

The best solution, of course, would be to have all the Israeli stocks listed together. But there is no "Jewish paper" in the U.S. "Our solution is to have the Investment Authority take out a toll-free telephone or telex number. The daily changes in the prices of Israeli shares in New York would be given continuously, 24 hours a day. And the companies could also, if they wanted, tack on a sales message at the end."

But so far Mimsar-Ariely has had no luck in persuading the Investment Authority of the advantages of this scheme.



Peter Vozotas, president of the Florida-based high-technology trading company Nicholas International, is here for the signing of an agreement to distribute Elbit computers in the U.S.

Hapoalim launches special campaign

TEL AVIV — Bank Hapoalim has embarked on a "client investment and savings campaign" which will run till the end of April. During this time the bank will concentrate on advising all those "working" with the bank on the best ways to invest their funds in these "very fluid times," according to a bank release.

This will include the best use of funds maturing from savings schemes, compulsory loans and funds for advanced training. Clients will also be advised of the wide variety of investment channels now existing for short, medium and long periods.

During the campaign, clients will be offered special conditions on short-term deposits as well as on long-term investments. Discounts will also be offered on the purchase of certificates of participation in all mutual funds managed by Bank Hapoalim and Lahak (the mutual funds management company of the American-Israel Bank network).

Another feature is the higher interest rates offered on *pakam* (short-term deposit) accounts destined to go into savings schemes or provident funds. One such plan allows depositors in *pakam* accounts to receive additional interest, if the money is re-deposited in a savings scheme or a provident fund. This arrangement applies to deposits for all periods of more than seven days. The additional interest for depositors under this arrangement can reach 2.83 per cent a month in certain cases. (This is an effective annual rate of up to 104 per cent.) The additional interest is especially high for those depositing relatively small sums.

For example, if IS30,000 is deposited for seven days, it will gain an additional 2.83 per cent interest a month, which adds up to about IS195. This amount, if re-deposited for 14 days, will earn an additional interest of 1.75 per cent, or an additional IS241.

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on
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on Tue., March 20, 1984 at
8 p.m.

Haifa District Court

Legacies file 373/84
IN THE MATTER of the estate of the late EYTA KAUFMAN deceased on November 14, 1981.
PETITIONER: Harry Peter Kaufman
CITATION:
Be it known that application has been submitted to the above court requesting a succession order in respect of the above deceased. Anyone considering he has a claim on the estate and who wishes to oppose the making of an order, should submit this objection within 15 days of the publication of this notice, failing which the court will make such order as it deems fit.
B. Gilor
Judge, Registrar

Haifa District Court

Probate file 498/84
IN THE MATTER of the will of the late CYPRAS WASSNER deceased on November 26, 1973.
PETITIONER: Roth Altschuler
CITATION:
Be it known that an application has been made to the above court for probate of the will of the above deceased. Anyone who wishes to oppose this request must submit his objection within 15 days of the publication of this notice, failing which the court will make such order as it deems fit.
B. Gilor
Judge, Registrar

Athletic takeover

By JACK LEON
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV — Some 5,000 runners, including foreigners from 15 countries, will set out today between 9 a.m. and 9.30 a.m. from Rehov Remez, next to the Histadrut Headquarters, in Hapoel's annual Tel Aviv marathon, mini-marathon and 6-km. mass "fun run."

Hapoel spokesman Yitzhak Alem said yesterday that he is appealing to the public to participate in the event in a real carnival spirit, not only because this is suitable for Purim, but because this is the attitude taken to marathons in great cities around the globe. He hopes

that motorists will not mind dislocations in traffic and that enthusiastic crowds will line the streets to cheer the gallant runners.

A beefed-up contingent of police will be on hand to control traffic. Some streets may be closed, but, Alem hopes, for not more than an hour.

The route will be as follows: from Arlosoroff along Bloch, Ben Gurion, Yehuda Halevi, Rothschild, past the Manna Auditorium to Dizengoff, the entire length of Dizengoff, Rokach, the "Pili" junction, Herzl's Road, Abba Hillel and Bialik in Ramat Gan, Shikun Bavi, Boel Das Street, The "mini" returns to Remez via Brundis, while participants in the full marathon retrace their steps after going back to Rokach.

Hapoel yesterday evening held the traditional pre-marathon party for competitors at Tel Aviv's Ramada Continental Hotel.

Bomb threat causes Connors-Lendl draw

ROTTERDAM (Reuter). — Jimmy Connors and Czechoslovak Ivan Lendl called off their final in the Rotterdam Grand Prix tennis tournament here yesterday after it was interrupted by a bomb threat in the second set.

Tournament officials said the two players were prepared to reschedule the match in Rotterdam after the two-week Wimbledon championships starting on June 25.

Lendl, who took the first set 6-0, in 23 minutes and was leading Connors 1-0 set, had established absolute superiority. But he had to catch a plane in time to play a

match today in the U.S.

The threat was telephoned to the stadium by a man speaking English and claiming to represent an anti-capitalist organization. He said explosive hidden in a bag near the court would explode at 1300 GMT.

No explosion took place and no bomb has been found, officials said. The tournament is sponsored by Algemeen Bank Nederland (ABN), one of the Netherlands' largest banks.

In Palm Beach, Chris Evert Lloyd beat Carling Bassett 6-3, 6-3, and Bonnie Gaduski defeated Zina Garrison 6-3, 5-7, 7-5, 7-5, to reach the finals of the Virginia Slims of Florida tournament.

Oxford crew break record

LONDON (Reuter). — Oxford's powerful rowers set a record time as they scored their ninth consecutive victory over Cambridge in the annual University Boat Race on the River Thames here yesterday.

Oxford romped away to win the 130th race between the traditional rivals by 3½ lengths, clocking 16 minutes 45 seconds to better the previous mark, set by an Oxford crew in 1976, by 13 seconds.

The race was delayed 24 hours after the Cambridge boat broke in two following a collision with a tug just minutes before Saturday's start. Cambridge rowed yesterday in a

boat loaned by the British national squad but were never a match for the heavier Oxford crew. But they too beat the old record, crossing the finish line 12 seconds behind Oxford.

Oxford's president and number six, Graham Jones, an Australian, paid tribute to the way Cambridge overcame Saturday's embarrassment. "It must have been an incredible strain on them, yet they gave us a tough race. They made us work hard all the way and it's a compliment to our strength, fitness and determination that we managed to hold them off," he said.

Border's great knock

Post Sports Staff

Alan Border, the Australian vice-captain, and Test newcomer Dean Jones, saved Australia from a crisis in the second Test against the West Indies at Port-of-Spain. Coming together when five wickets had fallen for 85 runs, they added 100; and enabled Australia to reach 255. Border ended with 98 not out and Jones got 48. West Indies are 54 for 1. So much time has been lost through rain that a draw seems likely.

In Colombo, Sri Lanka, all out for 174, seemed to be in a hopeless position when New Zealand reached 164 for 5 at the close of play on Saturday. But the Sri Lankans tore the Kiwi tail to shreds, dismissing them for 192. Then Sri Lanka reached 123 for 2, after being 13 for 2, due to a Richard Hadlee assault. But Sidath Wettimala and Roy Dias weathered the storm.

Riding results

A two-day jumping competition over the weekend produced the following results:
Saturday:
Class A: 1. Lawrence Bliss. 2. Ran Weinstein. 3. Nancy Givens.
Class B: 1. Kenny Lalo. 2. Adi Leibowitz. 3. Nancy Zeitlin.
Sunday:
Class A: 1. Lawrence Bliss. 2. Ruthe Feinman. 3. Ruthe Feinman (on a different horse).
Class B: 1. Adi Leibowitz. 2. David Moses. 3. Kenny Lalo and Nancy Zeitlin.
Children: 1. Itai Frutiger. 2. Mark Segal. 3. Yossi Cohen.

Hockey

TEL AVIV — Israel's national hockey team Friday scored a 4-0 victory over a side from the visiting HMS Hydra, in a match at the Wingate Institute limited to 30 minutes.

Later the locals and the British sailors mixed to play a friendly game.

The sports pages are edited by Philip Gillon and Yaron Kenan.

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Carl Lewis—champion in style

NEW YORK (Reuter). — He lives in a style befitting perhaps the world's greatest athlete — a huge house in Houston with servants and all the trappings of wealth — even though he is technically an amateur.

It is a sign of the times in Western track-and-field athletics. But Carl Lewis says his grand lifestyle would be increased immeasurably if he achieved his ambition of becoming the first athlete since Jesse Owens in 1936 to win four gold medals in the Summer Olympics in Los Angeles.

"If I won four golds, it would be worth millions and millions of dollars," the 23-year-old Lewis said here as he was honoured as the "Black Athlete of the Year."

The affable, candid Lewis does not deny that he lives in splendour, even though, technically, any money he makes from athletics goes into a trust fund that he cannot touch until he leaves the amateur ranks. The \$25,000 prize he received here for his latest honour will also go into his fund.

Most of the money Lewis has received — believed to be in the realm of hundreds of thousands of dollars — has come from commercial endorsements, mainly from the Nike shoe and Fuji-Xerox companies.

Lewis recalled how he met Owens here as he has earned as the world's premier track star. But when asked if he would consider a career in professional football, where salaries average about \$150,000 a year, he smiled and said: "They could never pay me enough money."

A triple gold-medallist at last year's world championships in Helsinki, Lewis is convinced he can win gold medals at Los Angeles in the 100 and 200 metres, the long jump, in which he holds the world indoor record of 8.79 metres, and in the four by 100 metres relay. Those were the same events in which the legendary Owens — Lewis' boyhood hero — captured four gold medals in 1936 in establishing himself as the greatest track star in history.

Lewis recalled how he met Owens when he was 12 years old. "That was very special to me, and Jesse



Owens has been an inspiration to me ever since.

"I think my best chance at a gold is in the long jump. My most difficult will be the 200, which I've only run about eight times," he said. "I think I'm proudest of my accomplishments in the long jump, where I feel I've been a pioneer. Before I came along, not many people even paid attention to it, and most thought it was a boring event."

Lewis' major goal is to surpass the outdoor world record of 8.90m. (29 feet 2½ inches) set by Bob Beamon in the rarefied altitude of Mexico City in 1968. "I think 30 feet (9.15m.) is attainable, but I'll be happy to do 29 feet this year," he said. "I've got to approach it in stages."

Would he be disappointed if he failed to win four gold medals in Los Angeles? "No, not at all," he said. "Although I think people almost expect it because of the media. I'm not really out to break records and win medals. I compete because I love it and because I'm having fun. Lewis, who also holds the world indoor 60-year record, dropped out of the University of Houston a year and a half ago, but said he eventually planned to return to get his degree. Apart from his track career and commercial endorsements, he has been working as a sports reporter for a Houston television company for the last month.

And recently Lewis embarked on a new career — as a singer. "I made a disco single, which is supposed to be released in late April," he said. The title of the song? "It's 'Going for the Gold,'" Lewis revealed.

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by Col. David Ben-Asher
translated by Miriam Schlesinger

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Adar-II 15, 5744 • Jamadi Thani 15, 1404

Police chase each other

NOT SINCE the "war of the generals" in 1973 which erupted in the army even before the Yom Kippur War was over, has the public witnessed the kind of bloodletting that has now struck the police. In the case of the army, many of the generals involved retired after the war, and those who stayed on were then retired after the Agranat Commission report.

The mutual accusations aired in public yesterday by the police's very top officers demonstrated, if this was still necessary, that a similar act of major surgery will be needed if the police are ever to recover from the present internal crisis. As generally occurs in such conflicts, the issue of substance which sparked the flames — whether and why an early police intelligence report on what became known as the Temple Mount gang was ignored — has been eclipsed by the war of the contending police factions.

Obviously this factional bitterness would not have emerged with such sudden fury had it not been festering for some time. That is apparently the reason for the Inspector-General's decision to press for no less than a criminal charge against Nitzav-Mishne Assaf Hefetz for confirming the accuracy of a prior leak to the press. That also lies behind the willingness of other officers to rally behind Hefetz, and that is what apparently explains the acrid denunciations of Tel Aviv District Commander Avraham Turgeman.

This factional strife cannot be understood solely on personal grounds. It derives also from a total absence of ministerial direction and control, from frustrations about police operational conditions, and from tensions between career officers and those recruited from outside the system, usually the army.

It is characteristic that both Hefetz and the chief of operations, Zvi Bar, now suddenly seen as leaders of the "opposition," came to their police posts from the army and the Border Police. Like the former Inspector-General, Herzl Shafir, an army general who was ultimately deposed by Dr. Burg, the minister, the outsiders are recruited to top police posts precisely in order to infuse the force with new juice. But inevitably they run into resistance when they threaten established ways and established interests.

But whatever the reasons for the present convulsion, it is plain that the factions have now gone beyond the point of no return. After yesterday's public recriminations, it does not seem possible to mend the rifts at the top.

As in the past, Dr. Burg, still on patrol in Europe, will probably seek to stop the hemorrhage by expelling the new blood and staying with the old. The question is whether the illness in the police has not become too rampant to permit of his old remedies.

Labour's calculated risk

THE LABOUR PARTY has decided once more to try and force the Likud's hands and bring about early elections this summer. Seemingly encouraged by recent public opinion polls which predict that the Labour Alignment may come close to an absolute majority in the Knesset, were elections to be held now, party chairman Shimon Peres has recommended to the party leadership to make a bold move at this juncture.

With the economy going from bad to worse and a withdrawal from Lebanon still not in sight, Labour probably reckons that this is as good a time as any for such a calculated risk. Elections as early as this summer may also spare Mr. Peres the painful process of an open challenge to his party leadership by former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and possibly also by former president Yitzhak Navon.

Labour's decision to press for a Knesset vote this week on early elections is certainly a calculated risk, for if it fails, another early elections bill cannot be submitted until the fall. The novelty of its decision is that it is doing so without the prior assurance of any of the potential coalition dissenters that they will support the opposition on this crucial issue.

Tami, the moderate religious party with wide ethnic support which commands three votes in the government coalition, has already gone on record that it prefers to wait for such a move until later this year. Unless Tami reconsiders its position at the last moment, the most Labour can expect is that it might abstain in Thursday's crucial vote.

That puts the onus on the less than handful of Likud dissenters of what is still known as the ruling party's Liberal wing and on the remnant of two Knesset Members of the late Moshe Dayan's Telem party. Former Knesset Speaker and former energy minister Yitzhak Berman, who quit the government in September 1982 over the Sabra and Shatila massacre issue, has gone on record a number of times that although he would not bolt the coalition to help form an alternative Labour-led government, he would be inclined to support an early election bill. This also goes for his Liberal maverick partner, Dror Zeigerman. On a number of occasions even Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor echoed some of Mr. Berman's scathing criticism of the government's performance.

The former Likud ministers, Yigael Hurvitz and Mordechai Ben-Porat, who ran in 1981 on Dayan's Telem ticket, have also not spared the government with their criticism. Mr. Ben-Porat only recently resigned from the cabinet in protest against its dismal record and its internal rifts. He went on record seven weeks ago that he would try for two months to help form a broad national unity government — his first preference — and, failing that, he would support a bill calling for the dissolution of the Knesset and early elections.

Mr. Hurvitz, the second Likud finance minister whose dire warnings of 1980 have all come true, and more, has been blasting the government's economic policy in even stronger terms than the opposition. Both he and Mr. Ben-Porat are former Labour Party members and it is indeed difficult to find any plausible reason why they should support the present regime at this stage. Even their activist policy of the Dayan school in support of settlements in areas of the West Bank that are not heavily populated, has long been exceeded by the nationalist wing of the Likud coalition.

Labour's optimism that its chances for success this time are brighter than generally assumed is perhaps based on confidential promises from these quarters. Berman, Hurvitz and Ben-Porat are known as political leaders who still abide by certain principles. Their integrity may convince them that their moment of truth has come.

With the opposition commanding 56 votes in the House — 50 of the Labour Alignment, two of Shinui and four of the Communists' Democratic Front — even three individual defections from the coalition and the abstention by Tami might swing the vote in favour of early elections, not just by a fluke. Such a vote would not come a moment too soon and may be worth Labour's calculated risk.

Death of an armistice

By SHLOMO SLONIM

IN THE WAKE of President Amin Jemayel's unilateral cancellation of the May 17, 1983 agreement between Lebanon and Israel, questions have arisen regarding the legal status of relations between the two countries. Clearly, Israel is now free under general international law to take appropriate measures to protect its northern border and to prevent hostile actions from neighbouring territory. Some have sought to argue that the 1949 Israel-Lebanese Armistice Agreement is still available as an instrument for regulating relations between Israel and Lebanon. But this is a fallacious argument. By its own actions, Lebanon long ago effectively put an end to that agreement.

In 1967, in the period leading up to the Six Day War, Lebanon acted in a warlike manner, quite inconsistent with the terms of the armistice agreement. It aligned itself formally with the Arab war-front arrayed against Israel. Thus, on May 30, 1967, the Lebanese president proclaimed that Lebanon "will commit all its resources to the war effort" and the following day the prime minister announced that his country "had not hesitated to advance to the battle front." With the outbreak of hostilities on June 5, Lebanese military planes violated Israeli air space near Metulla, as a result of which one was shot down.

When on June 8, the Israeli representative to the Israeli-Lebanese Armistice Commission requested a meeting with his Lebanese counterpart, the request was rejected on the grounds that such a meeting could not be contemplated "in the light of the state of war with Israel." And eight months later, on February 16, 1968

the prime minister declared in parliament that his country was in a state of war with Israel.

IT IS ABUNDANTLY clear that by its actions, Lebanon materially violated the 1949 armistice agreement and, in accordance with the principles of international law, left the other party, Israel, free to declare that the armistice was no longer in force.

But as if all this were not enough, on November 3, 1969, Lebanon made a pact with the PLO — the Cairo Agreement — whereby not only were the terrorists granted free rein to operate against Israel from Lebanese territory, but Lebanon committed itself to facilitating such action. Subsequently, this agreement was formally confirmed in two other agreements between the Lebanese government and the PLO.

Whatever life was still left in the armistice agreement was snuffed out completely by this blatant act in support of aggressive terror. It may be recalled that the agreement specifically forbade all forms of hostile action from the territory of the parties, whether by regular or irregular forces. This did not prevent Lebanon from proclaiming that "the Palestine armed struggle conforms to the Lebanese national interest."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the then foreign minister, Abba Eban, declared in the Knesset that the government of Israel, since 1967, had regarded Lebanon as having decided "to go along with the other Arab states in considering itself in a state of war with Israel — something which in itself has brought an end to the armistice

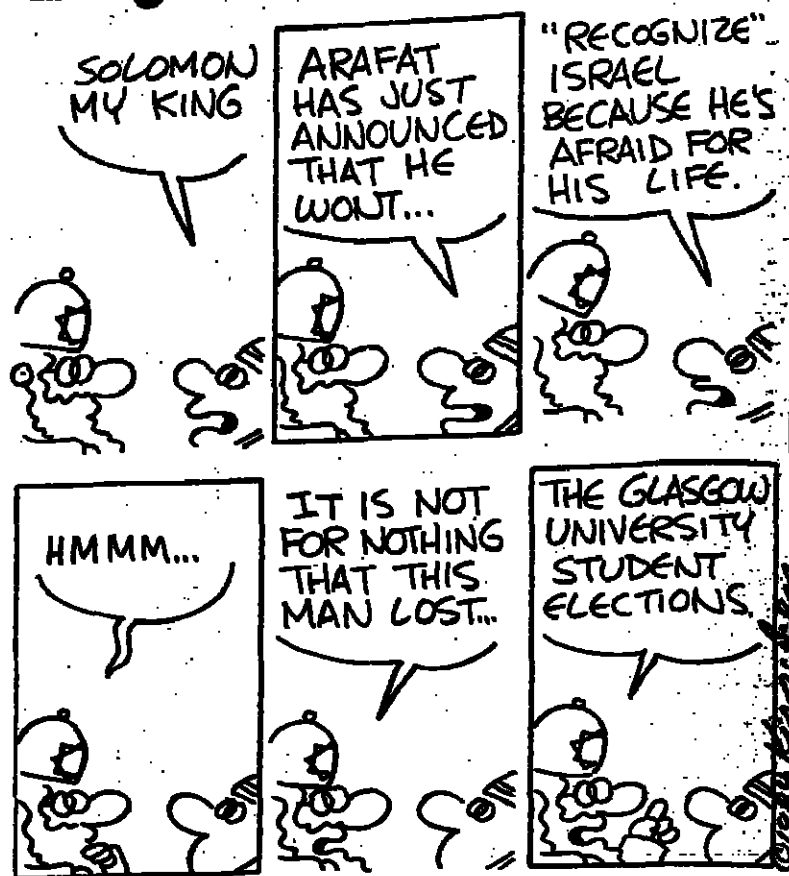
agreement." On February 2, 1970, Eban formally announced that "it is Israel's declared policy that neither the armistice agreements nor the commissions set up under those agreements are any longer in force."

GIVEN THIS state of affairs, it is clear that the armistice agreement with Lebanon is no longer in force. To revive it would require fresh Lebanese and Israeli consent. But surely it is not in Israel's political interest to give its consent to such a revival.

It is common knowledge that Assad and Co. prefer to rest the Arab-Israeli relationship exclusively on the basis of the armistice agreements, since these have consistently been viewed by the Arab states as purely military arrangements which enable the parties to reserve all other rights. This suits their purposes perfectly, since it in no way entails a political-diplomatic arrangement which might smack of normalization, not to speak of peace, with Israel.

For those Arab states such as Syria whose aim is the liquidation of the Jewish state, an armistice agreement is but a temporary pause in a relentless Arab campaign. It is for this reason that Assad took such exception to the May 17 Israeli-Lebanese agreement. It was too close to a formal peace treaty to be tolerated. Now that Lebanon has cancelled the agreement, there is no reason why we should accommodate the Arab rejectionist front and entertain, even for a moment, the thought of acquiescing in the terms of an armistice agreement

Dry Bones



which is portrayed not as a preliminary to, but as the reverse of a peace settlement. In addition, it should be borne in mind that reference to the 1949 agreement means a return to UN auspices, something which, in the light of present realities, can hardly be viewed by Israel with equanimity. The less Israel is compelled to resort to UN machinery for its security needs, the happier it will be.

Our security needs in the north must be protected to our satisfaction. Our relations with Lebanon must be premised on securing this vital interest. Having spurned an ideal arrangement which would have freed it of all alien forces, in-

cluding those of Syria and the PLO, Lebanon cannot now expect to hide behind the tattered remnants of the 1949 agreement. Lebanon must face up to the consequences of its actions and to its responsibility under international law to forestall hostile incursions from its territory. Israel remains free to act in accordance with its own best interests. The outcome, ultimately, will have to be some sort of newly-defined legal arrangement and agreed machinery to ensure peaceful borders and normal peaceful relations.

The writer is a senior lecturer in international relations at the Hebrew University.

Singing in unison

By GABRIEL SIVAN

they open their mouths. Thus, amid all the nonsense we have been hearing and reading lately about the Angelovici affair, Aryeh Rubinstein's article in last Monday's *Jerusalem Post* came as a most pleasant surprise. Many people in Israel — perhaps

even a real majority — would agree with every word of what he wrote; the trouble is, of course, that while most of us see through the false arguments on this and other current issues, we rarely find the time or muster the energy to refute them as effectively as he has done.

One of my teachers, the late Cecil Roth, had an apt piece of advice for busybodies: "Let well alone!"

It should have been heeded by Gusha Cohavi MK before she pushed through her ill-advised Jerusalem resolution; it ought to have been repeated to the mayor of Petah Tikva before he invoked "the majority" in his stupid and illegal move against Sabbath observance; and it applies also to Pinhas Goldstein MK, who threatened us with an utterly superfluous law concerning *Haikva*.

Anyone with an ounce of sense must surely realize that no amount of Knesset legislation will persuade Jews on the ultra-right, non-Zionist fringe of our society to countenance a secular anthem, or most Arabs living here to express the hope cherished by Jewish hearts. Yet up to this point in Israel's history a *status quo* has existed whereby the vast majority of Israelis have shown some measure of respect for the national anthem, whether they chose to sing all the words, some of the words or none at all.

Tampering with this particular *status quo* is bound to be counterproductive.

HOWEVER, I DO have one practical suggestion to make: Instead of finding some replacement for *Haikva*, as certain opponents of the Goldstein bill have suggested, why

not have two anthems? In England, *Land of Hope and Glory* and *Rule Britannia* enjoy a large measure of status and popularity alongside *God Save the Queen*. In the United States, *America* ("My Country, 'tis of thee") ranks next to *The Star-Spangled Banner*; and other examples also spring to mind.

Half a century ago, when Cantor Josef Rosenblatt was making a concert tour of the Land of Israel, his setting of *Shir ha-Ma'ot* (Psalm 126) gave rise to such enthusiasm that the poet laureate of the Yishuv, Chaim Nachman Bialik, proposed that it be adopted as the new hymn of the Jewish people.

True, Bialik — rather an old-fashioned kind of Jew by present-day standards, since he founded the Oneg Shabbat movement — may not be greatly admired by those militant secularists who now wish to refashion Israel in their own image. Nor, for that matter, would he have applauded those who now publish and stage what passes for Hebrew culture.

Even so, a fair proportion of mankind is familiar with this psalm, while the most irreverent Israeli still regards the Bible as national literature.

Jews, from left to right of the political spectrum, can have no valid objection to such a second anthem; Arabs, both Muslim and Christian, should find the text acceptable; Druse, Baha'is and what have you will react in the same way. I therefore urge the adoption of *Shir ha-Ma'ot* as Israel's alternative hymn. Will someone kindly take up this matter in the Knesset, or else shall we just let well alone?

Gabriel Sivan is a writer, lecturer and broadcaster on Jewish and Zionist affairs.

READERS' LETTERS

ECONOMIC DISASTER

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — As a visitor from the U.S.A. and a friend of the State of Israel, I am distressed to find, wherever we go, that merchants quote prices in U.S. dollars for the service or merchandise being purchased. In some instances, a conversion to shekels is quoted, but only upon request. The nation's currency is the shekel, not the dollar, and therefore, it would appear that such requests for U.S. dollars are, at the very least, highly improper.

When a major international hotel chain with several units in Israel informs its guests formally that they will be billed in U.S. dollars as of March 1, 1984, the fear of economic disaster is heightened immeasurably. It appears that the

same people and the same companies that proudly espouse the cause of Israel and sponsor programmes to insure the safety and security of Israel bow to the pressures of economics and engage in the distasteful practice of currency regulation evasion. That activity can threaten the very existence of the nation if it gets out of hand.

Some solution must be found quickly. Delay will only make the eventual solution more costly. We must look to our leaders to guide us out of a financial situation which is worsening. Too many nations have fallen prey to economic disaster for us to ignore the danger.

DAN STEEPLER
Jerusalem (Framingham, Mass.)

RABBIS' WISDOM

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, — With reference to the shameful act committed against the remains of Mrs. Thereza Angelovici, I would like to tell your readers about an interesting news item which I found in the weekly *HaSifra*, dated Adar 1, 5644 (corresponding to March 6, 1984) exactly 100 years to the day before the outrage at Rishon took place.

"The question arose if Jewish law would permit the burial of bodies of deceased Gentile men (Christians), who were married to Jewish women in civil wedding ceremonies. Such a query was also brought to the attention of the judicial authorities of the Leipzig community (Germany) and an affirmative decision was given by the rabbis."

It would seem that 100 years ago, bold rabbis had a better grasp of the issues and consequences. They lifted their eyes from the straight and narrow path and found a way to meet the needs of the hour. No doubt, they too had heard of contentment with, but they were not intimidated.

K.J. FLANN
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